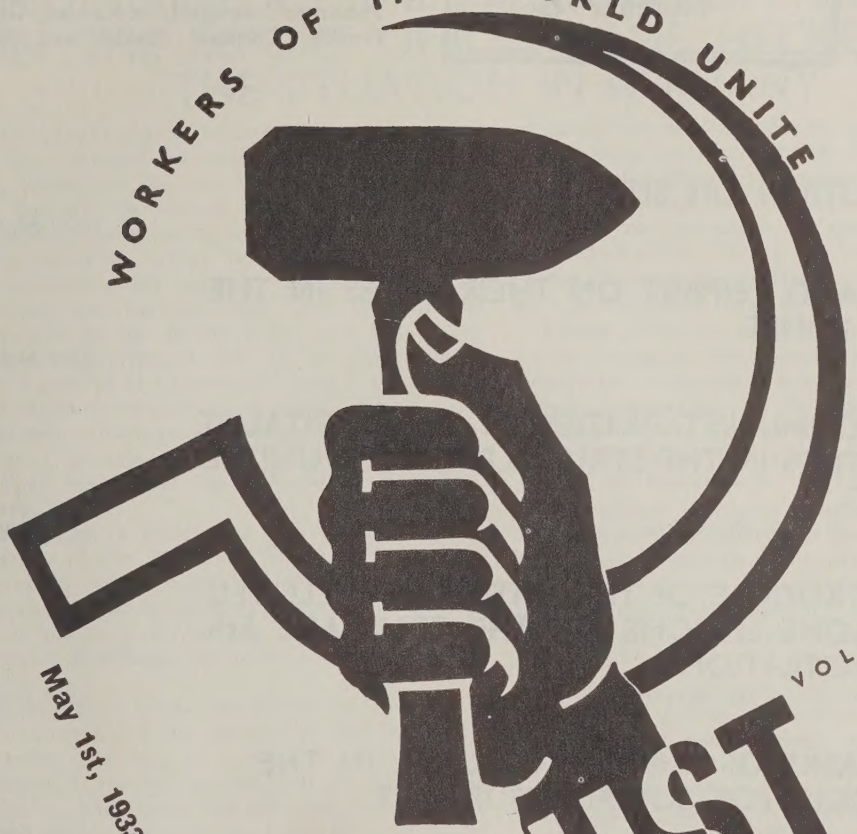

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RESOLUTION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE E.C.C.I. ON THE REPORT OF COMRADE HECKERT ON THE SITUATION IN GERMANY

IN the conditions of the tremendous sharpening of the economic and political situation in Germany, when, on the one hand, the Communist Party had already become a tremendous force in the working class, and a revolutionary crisis was rapidly maturing, when, on the other hand, the deep contradictions among the ruling classes themselves had become clear and the Fascist dictatorship in the shape of the von Papen and Schleicher Government was not in a position to stop the growth of Communism and find any way out of the ever-intensifying economic crisis,

the German bourgeoisie delegated the establishment of an open Fascist dictatorship to the Fascist Hitler and his "National Socialist" Party.

The victory of Hitler and the establishment of the power of the "National Socialists" was possible owing to the following circumstances.

German Social-Democracy, which had the support of the majority of the proletariat in the November Revolution of 1918, split the working class.

Instead of carrying the revolution forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialism, which was the duty of a workers' party, it, in alliance with the bourgeoisie and the generals of the Kaiser, suppressed the uprising of the revolutionary masses and laid the basis for a profound split in the working class of Germany.

Under the banner of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the tactic of the "lesser evil," in alliance with the bourgeoisie and with the approval of the whole of the Second Inernational, it continued this policy of severe repression of the revolutionary movement and the line of splitting the working class right up to the most recent date.

It disbanded the Red Front Fighters' League, suppressed revolutionary workers' organisations, prohibited and fired into workers' demonstrations, broke economic and political strikes against the capitalist offensive and Fascism, and supported the power of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Social-Democracy concentrated the leadership of the workers' mass organisations in the hands of its corrupt bureaucratic leaders.

It expelled revolutionary workers from these organisations, and by means of a network of centralised workers' organisations subordinated to it, it fettered the initiative of the working masses, undermined their fighting powers in the struggle against capital and Fascism, and hindered them in decisively repelling the advance of the Fascist dictatorship and the terrorist Fascist gangs.

This policy of struggle against the revolutionary masses, collaboration with the bourgeoisie and help for reaction under the pretence of pursuing the tactics of the "lesser evil" has been the policy of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals as a whole, from 1914 up to the present time.

In the conditions of imperialism and still more so in a country which had been defeated in the imperialist war and whose capitalism had been deeply undermined by the general crisis of the capitalist system, the Weimar "democratic" bourgeois republic could only be a reactionary dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The labour legislation, social insurance and democratic rights which the bourgeoisie had been compelled to give to the workers in the years of the revolution were gradually taken away by the Weimar coalition, consisting of social democrats, the Central Party and the "democrats," that was in power.

Continual and gradual concessions to reaction, a gradual repeal of one point of the constitution after another, of one gain of the workers after another, the gradual Fascisation of the whole apparatus of the State, so greatly discredited the Weimar coalition and the Weimar republic that it lost all serious significance in the eyes of the broad masses.

The Versailles system plundered Germany and put the German toiling masses under the oppression of the unbearable exploitation not only of their own capitalists but also of foreign capital, to whom the German Government had to transfer the reparations payments.

The oppression of Versailles, multiplied by the oppression of their "own" German bourgeoisie, led to an unprecedented fall in the standard of living of the workers and to such an impoverishment of the peasants and of the urban petty-bourgeoisie that a section of these strata began more and more to consider as their ideal pre-war Germany, in which there was not yet the general crisis of capitalism and not such an impoverishment of the masses as now.

It can be understood, therefore, that at a time of the most intense economic crisis, which increased the burden of the external Versailles national oppression, and when, due to the Social-Democrats, the working class was split and consequently not strong enough to carry the urban

petty-bourgeoisie and the peasant masses with it—

> there was bound to arise, and actually there did arise, a tempestuous outburst of German nationalism and Chauvinism which considerably strengthened the political situation of the bourgeoisie and brought to the surface the most demagogic nationalist party—the party of the "National Socialists."

The Communist workers organised and carried on a struggle against the capitalist and Fascist offensive.

They supported even the slightest action of the Social-Democratic workers against capital, wherever such actions took place.

Wishing to restore the revolutionary unity of the working class, they, long before the victory of Fascism, repeatedly proposed to the Social-Democratic workers and the lower Social-Democratic organisations that a united front be formed for the struggle against the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the Fascists.

But the mass of the Social-Democratic workers who carried with them the majority of the working class of Germany, being fettered by their Social-Democratic leaders, who were opposed to the revolutionary united front, and who maintained their reactionary united front with the bourgeoisie, rejected the united front with the Communists on every occasion, and disrupted the struggle of the working class.

While the Communists insisted on a *revolutionary* united front of the working class *against the bourgeoisie, against Fascism,* the Social-Democrats, on the contrary, impelled the workers in the direction of a *reactionary* united front with the bourgeoisie, *against the Communists, against the Communist workers,* destroying and repressing Communist organisations whenever and wherever this was possible.

In pursuing its line of struggle for the revolutionary unity of the working class against the Social-Democratic united front with the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party, as the only revolutionary leader of the German proletariat, in spite of the strike-breaking tactics of Social-Democracy,

> called on the working class for a general political strike on July 20th, 1932, when the Fascists dispersed the Social-Democratic Prussian Government, and on January 30th, 1933, when Hitler came into power in Germany.

In order to carry on this strike, the Communist Party proposed a united front to the Social-Democratic Party and the reformist trade unions.

The development of the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie and Fascism, and a general strike, would have caused the hesitating toiling masses of peasants and the urban petty-bourgeoisie to follow the proletariat.

But the Social-Democrats, continuing their previous policy, and directing themselves to further collaboration with the bourgeoisie, fettered the initiative of the masses through the network of centralised organisations which followed their lead—first of all the reformist trade unions.

They interfered with the organisation of a general strike and disrupted it, thus encouraging the further attacks of the Fascists on the workers.

As a result, the vanguard of the revolutionary wing of the German proletariat, the Communist Party, was deprived of the support of the majority of the working class.

Under these circumstances the working class was in a position in which it could not organise, and, in fact, failed to organise, an immediate and decisive blow against the State apparatus, which for the purpose of fighting against the proletariat, absorbed the fighting organisations of the Fascist bourgeoisie—the storm detachments, the "Steel Helmets," and the Reichswehr.

The bourgeoisie was able, without serious resistance, to hand over the Governmental power in the country to the National Socialists, who acted against the working class by the methods of provocation, bloody terror and political banditry.

In analysing the conditions for a victorious uprising of the working class, Lenin said that a decisive battle can be considered as fully mature—

> IF "all the class forces which are hostile to us have become *sufficiently* entangled, have *sufficiently* come into conflict with each other, have *sufficiently* weakened themselves by a struggle which is beyond their strength";
>
> IF "all the vacillating, hesitating, unstable, intermediate elements, i.e., the petty-bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeois democracy as distinguished from the bourgeoisie, have *sufficiently* exposed themselves to the people, have *sufficiently* disgraced themselves by their practical bankruptcy";
>
> IF "among the working class mass sentiment has begun, and is rising strongly, in favour of supporting the most decisive, supremely bold and revolutionary activity against the bourgeoisie;
>
> " Then the revolution has matured, and if we have properly taken into account all the conditions mentioned above . . . and have properly selected the moment, our victory is assured."

The characteristic feature of the circumstances at the time of the Hitler coup was that these con-

ditions for a victorious rising had not yet managed to mature at that moment. They only existed in an embryonic state.

As for the vanguard of the working class — the Communist Party—it did not wish to slip into rash adventures, and of course could not compensate for the missing factors by its own actions.

"It is impossible to win with the vanguard alone," says Lenin. "To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive fight while the whole of the class, the whole of the broad masses, have not occupied the position either of direct support of the vanguard or at least of friendly neutrality towards it . . . would not only be foolish, but a crime."

Such were the circumstances which decided the retreat of the working class and the victory of the party of the counter-revolutionary Fascists in Germany.

Thus, in the last analysis, the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany is the result of the Social-Democratic policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie throughout the whole period of existence of the Weimar Republic.

The Social-Democrats repeatedly stated that they would not object to Hitler coming into power in a "constitutional" manner. But after Hitler assumed power, "Vorwaerts," on February 2nd, stated that without Social-Democracy a person like Hitler could not have become Chancellor of the Reich.

Wels stated the same thing on March 23rd, in his declaration in the Reichstag, in which he said that the services Social-Democracy had rendered to the "National Socialists" were very great, because it was thanks to the policy that Social-Democracy pursued that Hitler was able to come to power.

There is no need to mention Leipart, Loebe and other Social-Democratic leaders who completely support the Fascists.

The Communist Party was right in giving the name of Social-Fascists to the Social-Democrats.

But the Fascist Dictatorship, basing itself on armed gangs of National Socialists and "Steel Helmets" and commencing civil war against the working class, abolishing all the rights of the proletariat, is at the same time smashing the Social-Democratic theory that it is possible to win a parliamentary majority by means of elections and to develop peacefully towards Socialism without revolution.

It is destroying the Social-Democratic theory of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the policy of the "lesser evil," and is destroying all the *democratic illusions* among the broad masses of workers.

It is proving that the Government is not a super-structure rising above classes, but a weapon of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, that the real State power is the armed bands of storm troops, "Steel Helmets," police and officers, who are governing in the name of the bourgeoisie and the Junkers.

The working class is actually becoming convinced that the Communists were right when for a number of years they fought against democratic illusions, against the Social-Democratic policy of the "lesser evil" and collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile, the frantic dictatorship of Hitler, which has started civil war in the country, cannot solve a single political and economic question of contemporary Germany.

The poverty and want of the masses are increasing day by day.

The position of industry is growing worse because the adventurous policy of the Government is only accelerating the contraction of the home and foreign market.

There are not, and there cannot be, any prospects of a serious reduction of unemployment. There is no possibility of giving work and employment to all the adherents of the National Socialists. In place of the National Socialists who are given jobs, other workers will be dismissed.

The continuation of the moratorium until October and the introduction of quotas on imports of agricultural products, can only satisfy a small section of the most well-to-do peasants for a very short period, but cannot stop growth of want, poverty and discontent among the broad peasant masses.

The demagogic attacks on the big stores and Jewish capital cannot help the impoverished petty-bourgeoisie, whose position will grow proportionately worse with the further fall of the purchasing power of the home market.

The giving of microscopic help to the needy with bread and pork was only a sop for the elections. In view of the worsening economic situation, the increase of unemployment relief by two marks a month, cannot but be taken back.

It is becoming clear that Hitler is leading Germany to economic catastrophe, which is becoming more and more inevitable.

The National Socialist movement grew up first of all as a nationalist and Chauvinist movement of the petty-bourgeoisie and part of the peasant masses, led by officers and Government officials from the Kaiser's days against the Versailles Treaty.

The two months in which Hitler has been in power have been just one chauvinist tirade against proletarian internationalism and against "world Bolshevism."

It is a policy of sharpening relations with all countries without discrimination. Such a policy will not only fail to strengthen Germany, but will weaken it still further and isolate it.

The attempts of the Government to violate the Versailles Treaty under such conditions and to obtain successes in foreign policy, even if only unity with Austria, so as to raise its prestige, will lead only to a further sharpening of the whole international situation and a tremendous growth of the war danger.

Every day of the Hitler Government will reveal with greater clearness the manner in which the masses who follow Hitler have been tricked.

Every day will show with greater clearness that Hitler is leading Germany to *catastrophe.*

The present period of calm after the victory of Fascism is temporary.

The revolutionary upsurge in Germany will inevitably grow in spite of the Fascist terror. The resistance of the masses to Fascism is bound to increase. The establishment of an open Fascist Dictatorship, by destroying all the democratic illusions among the masses and liberating them from the influence of social-democracy, accelerates the rate of Germany's development towards proletarian revolution.

The task of the Communists must be to explain to the masses that the Hitler Government is leading the country to catastrophe.

It is now necessary to warn the masses with greater energy than ever before that the only salvation for the toiling masses from still greater poverty and want, the only way to avoid catastrophe, is the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is necessary to strive to rally all the forces of the working class and form a united front of Social-Democratic and Communist workers for the struggle against the class enemies.

It is necessary to strengthen the Party and strengthen all the mass organisations of the working class—

to prepare the masses for decisive revolutionary battles. For the overthrow of the capitalism and for the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship by an armed rising.

In view of all this, the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. approves the programme of practical activities planned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

WELS AND LEIPART ON THEIR KNEES IN THE THIRD EMPIRE.

THE treachery of the German social-democracy at the beginning of the world war, prepared beforehand, led to its division, and the birth of the Communist Party. The present treachery of the social-democracy, its capitulation to Hitler, leads to the liquidation of its mass influence and the consolidation of the class-conscious workers under the banners of Communism, under the banners of the German October. *Therein lies the deep historical significance of the events in Germany.*

Wels, the leader of the German Social Democratic Party, and Leipart, the Chairman of the German Federation of Reformist trade unions, have made peace with Hitler. But the class-conscious proletariat cannot make peace with the régime of bloody capitalist offensive, with the servants of Thyssen and Krupp. The Welses and Leiparts want to hand the gigantic organisations of the German proletariat, the trade unions, which, being reformist, are an arena of struggle between reformism and communism, over to fascism. What generations of class-conscious workers have created through innumerable sacrifices and privations is being surrendered to the class enemy without a battle by a bureaucracy which has become entangled for good or ill with the capitalist system and state. The social conquests of the November revolution, social reforms gained through decades of struggle, are thrown by Leipart and Wels at the feet of the executioners of the German workers, merely to procure themselves a place at the feast of the fat and the rich in the third empire. Wels and Leipart follow the footsteps of D'Aragona. Like him, they continued for many years to assure that they are the only true fighters against fascism. And now—like him—they openly desert to the camp of the bloody fascist dictatorship.

People who dared to give pious advice to the Communist Party of Germany and read it lectures, raised a theory under this deceit of the Welses and Leiparts. Foaming at the mouth, these gentlemen have fought and fight against the thesis of the Comintern regarding social-fascism. Brandler and Thalheimer, Sternberg and Seide-

vitz, Trotsky from Constantinople all attempted to convince the German working class that an "irreconcilable antagonism" between Leipart and Hitler exists. In his latest pamphlet on Germany, Trotsky writes:

> "When, three years ago, we pointed out that the point of departure of the coming political crisis in Austria and Germany will evidently be the *irreconcilable contradiction between the social-democracy and fascism,* when on this basis we *rejected the theory of social-fascism* which not only failed to expose the approaching conflict but blurred it, when we drew attention to the possibility that *social-democracy, including a considerable section of the apparatus,* will be drawn into the struggle against fascism, by the entire course of events . . . . very many Communists accused us of *idealising social-democracy.*" (*The Only Road,* p. 19-20.)

The events of the last few months in Germany have demonstrated the complete correctness of the Comintern thesis on social-fascism with crushing force.

The history of the class struggle in Germany has insistently and convincingly demonstrated that social-democracy and the trade-union bureaucracy have always been the first to hasten to the aid of the bourgeoisie, whenever it found itself in difficulties. The German capitalists plunged themselves into the adventure of the world war, and the Welses and Leiparts drove millions of German workers to the battlefields in France and Russia to die for the fatherland of the fat and rich. But the hour of the proletarian revolution in Germany struck in November, 1918, and again the Welses and Leiparts saved German capitalism against the revolution—by fire and sword. Now the bourgeoisie is snatching at its last trump card, fascism; it has let loose the reactionary mass movement to obstruct the road of the revolution; it, that is, the bourgeoisie, has established the fascist dictatorship of terrorism in order to hold millions who are seeking a revolutionary way out of the crisis. And once again the Welses and Leiparts have applied their hand to this work. German social-democracy and trade union bureaucracy have written a new important page in the history of their shame. The speech of Wels in the Reichstag, various statements of Loebe and Stampfer, the articles of Kautsky and a series of other documents of shameful capitulation establish the conduct of social-democracy in one of the central questions of the moment of fascist policy, the question of "fascising" the trade unions. What is the conduct of social democracy in this question?

* * *

The Central Executive of the German Federation of Trade Unions, in a declaration submitted to the Hitler government on March 21st, refers to its permanent attitude to the capitalist state and the capitalist system. In this statement in which state control over the trade unions, that is, control by the Hitler government, is declared to be facilitating the work of the trade unions, an attempt is made to show that the surrender of the trade unions to Hitler logically arises out of their policy, and that this surrender is in full accord with their whole previous policy. In this respect we are fully agreed with Leipart: *to-day's capitulation follows with iron necessity from the capitulationist policy of yesterday, and the day before.*

The reformist trade unions have always been of the opinion, the Central Executive of the Trade Union Confederation declares, that the state (capitalist) has the right of decisive interference in disputes between labour and capital. Furthermore, the trade unions "have been more and more coalescing with the state itself." Previously, this was said with regard to the "democratic" state which, being one of the forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, was painted as a super-class state. Now this "right of decisive interference in disputes between labour and capital" is offered by the trade union bureaucracy to the bloody fascist dictatorship as well. Here, indeed, we have a fundamental problem, the very essence of the problem of the class struggle. In the past, according to the reformists, the "democratic" state was not at all a "weapon of oppression of one class by another" (Engels). In the past it, according to the reformists, acted in the interests of the nation as a whole. This is one of the premises of reformism. Now even the fascist "national" state is painted as a super-class state with which the trade unions must coalesce. By recognising and utilising the state conciliation and arbitration, the trade unions have shown in deeds that they accept the capitalist state, that they are prepared to subordinate the interests of the working class to the awards of the organs of this state. Such is the policy of reformism which consistently leads from worship of the Weimar republic to worship of the fascist "third empire."

The state has the right "to settle the question of wage rates and labour conditions"—such is the principle of reformism as well as of national socialism. For instance, Klagges, the most impudent of all the Nazi "theoreticians," proposes to introduce "social justice" in the empire in such a way that—

> "regulation of wage questions and prices in the third empire must practically always be carried out by a decision of the state power" (*National-Socialist Letters,* fifth edition, p. 28).

Their attitude to the capitalist system is abso-

lutely the same. Hitler's fundamental principle says:

"A national-socialist wage worker must know that economic prosperity of the nation is tantamount to his own material happiness and welfare" (*My Fight*, thirteenth edition, p. 676).

Alfred Braunthal, the author of the most popular reformist text-book on political economy, expresses the very same Hitlerist idea in the following terms:

"A worker is unquestionably interested in the utmost increase of labour productivity" (*Modern Economy and its Laws*, p. 62).

The latest economic programme of the All-German Federation of Trade Unions and A.V.A.* has many points in common with the economic demands of the National-Socialist Party. This programme consists of measures of a "planned economic" character to be carried out under the existent capitalist system by the capitalist state, the enforcement of these measures being described as the gradual socialist transformation of economy. But even the Nazis demand the creation of the same organs of "economic planning"; they, too, propose to carry out "socialist" measures while preserving the capitalist system and society.

The national-socialists' *doctrine of society* is founded upon the conception of the identity of the interests of labour and capital. The reformists are closely approaching the same theses, denying that there is any insurmountable antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, rejecting Marx's basic idea of the irreconcilability of the class interests owing to which "the class struggle inevitably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Marx). Hence their endorsement in principle of the policy of practical co-operation, of constant collaboration between the employers and the workers in politics and economics.

* * *

In its declaration to Hitler's government, the All-German Federation of Trade Unions refers to its old policy according to which the trade unions must be "neutral" and free from Party political influences. Lenin, in *What is to be done* and a number of other works proved beyond a shadow of doubt that in class society *there can be no neutral working-class policy*, that there can only be either a workers' policy, or a bourgeois policy. The slogan of "neutrality" in trade unions had the object of adorning the bourgeois policy on the proletarian question, that is a policy which betrays the interests of the working class to those of the capitalists. This is done in order to deceive the workers. The German reformist trade union bureaucracy has fought for the neutrality of the trade unions until the German social-democracy had not yet openly sided with the bourgeoisie, and secured recognition of its "equality." When the German social-democracy openly joined the bourgeoisie, the question of "neutrality" disappeared as far as the trade union bureaucracy was concerned, inasmuch as their policy of betraying the interests of the working class coincided with the policy of the Social-Democratic Party and the most intimate collaboration became possible between them.

Why are the trade union bureaucrats again speaking of "neutrality"? Because this is demanded by the national-socialists. To the trade union bureaucrats, *this is a transitional slogan from subordinating the trade unions to the leadership of the social-democrats, to their subordination to that of the fascists.* To the national-socialists, this is a transitional stage to the formation of purely fascist trade unions on the Italian model.

Hitler's government is struggling over the trade union problem not because of the trade union leaders: the Hitlerites, these henchmen of capitalism, fear the spirit of the class struggle which continues to live in the millions of trade unionist workers. The book by Reinhold Muchow, one of the leaders of the national-socialist organisation of factory cells, entitled *National-Socialism and the Free Trade Unions*, openly praises the reformist leadership of the free trade unions. Muchow describes in detail the struggle of Legien and the "general commission" against Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg, quoting the speeches and articles of Legien with the greatest admiration. Muchow is particularly enthusiastic about the position of the general commission during the world war.

"To the honour of the trade union movement it must be said that it immediately appreciated the omens of the time and already on August 1st, 1914, called a meeting of all the trade union executives in Berlin and took the side of the government. All current strikes were called off . . . but of greater interest than these measures is the very fact that the general commission without long negotiations at once expressed its readiness to place the forces of the trade unions at the disposal of the German nation fighting for its existence."

Muchow quotes the resolution and discussion of the Cologne trade union congress held in 1905 on the question of the mass political strike, the speeches delivered by Legien and Robert Schmidt at the Jena Congress of the Social-Democratic Party in 1905 dealing with the mass political strike and May-Day celebration, and long pas-

* Clerical Employees' Federation, affiliated to the Federation of T.U.s.

sages from Legien's speeches during the war, emphasising his satisfaction with them throughout.

Leipart's letter to Hitler represents a platform of conciliation with the fascist government on the basis of the subordination of the reformist trade unions to his leadership, on the basis of the capitulation of the trade unions to the open fascist dictatorship. But Leipart counts his chicks before they are hatched. The working masses organised in trade unions have never been so near to a revolt against their treacherous leadership as they are now, when this treachery can no longer be covered even by the fig-leaf of "democracy." And the Communist Party will see to the organisation of this revolt.

* * *

Wels and Leipart want to betray the trade union organisation into the hands of fascism; at the present time they are no longer even "opponents" in words but are open allies of Hitler, yet the trade union question presents the most difficult problem to Hitler's government. From the very first day of his advent to power this question has never left the columns of the German press. Two projects are debated: immediate reorganisation of the trade unions after the model of the Italian syndicates, or the creation of a central body of practical collaboration of labour and capital for the regulation of labour conditions, and the gradual penetration of the trade unions by national-socialism. Both the one and the other signify a definite policy of establishing fascist trade unions; the only difference lies in the tempo and methods of fascisation. *Hitler is cognisant of the fact that the desertion of the trade union leaders into the camp of fascism does not constitute a sufficient guarantee, and that the millions of class-conscious workers organised in trade unions constitute a constant source of danger to the fascist régime.* These points of assembly for the organised proletariat must be destroyed and the working class must be crushed and thrown back to the days when it had no trade union movement; it must be converted into an amorphous mass under the control of the police so that fascism could feel itself firm in the saddle. Here is what Hitler writes on the pre-war trade unions:

> Like a storm cloud the free trade union already then (before the war) hung over the political horizon and the existence of the individual. This was one of the most terrible instruments of terrorism against the safety and independence of the national economy, against the power of the state and the freedom of the individual" (*My Fight*, p. 40).

The trade unions still continue to hang like a storm cloud over Hitler's political horizon. Fascism cannot be content and breathe freely as long as anything is left undone to dispel these storm clouds over its horizon. The trade union bureaucracy can help it in this respect, but it is insufficient alone; its help is important to fascism but inadequate. On March 14th the trade union political information bureau, the press bureau of the Christian trade unions, published a certain dissertation on the "trade unions in the central government." This agency (which maintains the closest connections with the leading Nazi circles) reports that the national socialists recognise the services of Leipart and value his views on the question of reparations and his well-known speech at the school of the trade unions at Dernau highly. But the real point is contained in the following phrase:

> "But heretofore, these statements have not met with the necessary response among the trade unions affiliated with the All-German Federation of Trade Unions."

Ah! Here's the rub! The most important thing is the "necessary response"—that is the sentiments of the trade union membership. For this reason the most pressing need for Hitler to-day is to crush these will-power centres of the organisations of the German proletariat. How this is to be accomplished, and that as quickly as possible, is the question upon which the gentlemen of Wilhelmstrasse and the Brown House are now cudgelling their brains.

* * *

The step which the Welses and Leiparts are now making is a step conditioned by the entire development of post-war capitalism and the reformist policy pursued in the past. The capitalist world is passing through a crisis of depth and gravity such as has never yet been recorded in the history of capitalism. The capitalist "remedy" of the crisis involves the aggravation of the destitution of the masses, the elimination of the remnants of the social reforms. The struggle for the daily needs of the proletariat in our times shakes the very foundations of the capitalist system.

> "The struggle for the most elementary needs of the masses brings them into conflict with the most immediate foundations of the existence of capitalism" (From the Theses of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.).

He who does not want such a clash must reject the struggle for the elementary needs of the masses. He who wants to act as a minister of dying capitalism must prescribe to his patient the only cure, the deprivation of the working class of its last rights, the abolition of all social reforms. The development of post-war capitalism forces

reformism to take a new step in the direction of betrayal of the workers' interests; social reformism (which has long been transformed into social-fascism) now meekly incorporates itself into the system of the open fascist dictatorship. The National Socialist Muchow praises Legien and Robert Schmidt for their utterances in 1905, in the book already mentioned, at the Cologne Trade Union Congress and the Jena Party Congress against a strike on the First of May. The road from these speeches to the shooting of 33 Berlin workers by the one-time trade union official Zorgiebel, in the First of May demonstration of 1929 is a long one.

But this road had to be trod by reformism, such is the iron logic of class struggle—and class treachery. Now reformism is making another decisive step which logically follows from its entire preceding policy.

Marx placed two tasks before the trade unions: (1) to fight against a degradation of the wages and labour conditions and for their improvement; (2) to fight against the system of wage-slavery. Day after day, step by step, trade union reformism departed further and further from these tasks. In contrast to them, it made it its principal object to maintain and consolidate the capitalist system. It has become an old principle of reformism to subordinate the interests of the working class to those of the "nation" to the "common" interests, which have always been those of the ruling class in class society. True to this principle, reformism with the change in the condition of capitalism has placed new, revised tasks before the trade union organisations. With iron consistency reformism has sought to harness the trade union organisations of the German proletariat to the chariot of capitalism, to place the trade unions at its service. And now we see the crowning of these efforts, the end of this road—which has brought the social-democrats into the camp of Hitler. But this finale will be the beginning of the end of the mass influence of reformism over the working class.

* * *

The offensive against the trade unions is accompanied by an attack upon the wage agreements. The policy of collective bargaining must be ended. The abolition of collective agreements, this dream of the capitalist exploiters must be finally realised. Besides, the abolition of the existing wage agreements assumes extreme importance to the fascist dictatorship, because these agreements cover enormous masses of workers so that when they expire, and have to be renewed, the dictatorship of fascism is menaced.

The wage agreement always played a very big part in the life of post-war Germany. Even now, during the deepest crisis, the rates and conditions of labour of six or seven million employed workers are regulated by collective agreements. What is the attitude of the National-Socialist Party to the collective agreement? The national-socialists are opposed to the payment of labour in accordance with a definite scale, and favour payment of labour in accordance with so-called "productivity." By payment on the basis of "productivity" the Nazis mean a definite form of wages consisting approximately of the following: the state is to fix a wage minimum for all categories of labour, equal more or less to what the unemployed get from charity (which in Berlin at present amounts to nine marks a week). He who gets this minimum wage fixed by the state can only "eke out a miserable existence" (Dr. Pfaff, *"Economic Construction in the Third Empire,"* pp. 17-18). The rest of the pay over and above nine marks will depend upon the productivity of the individual worker, and be fixed by agreement with the factory administration.

To illustrate how monstrous these demands in the field of wages are, it is sufficient to state that a Berlin metal worker of Grade A (fully skilled), when working full time now receives a guaranteed wage of 45 marks a week according to the scale of the Berlin Metal Manufacturers' Association; if paid according to "productivity" he will be guaranteed nine marks only; the rest will be paid by agreement between the administration and the "shop committee," the workers having no right to strike. This "shop committee" has nothing in common with a real shop committee. Dr. Alfred Pfaff writes about shop committees in the Third Empire as follows:

> "Thus we shall establish in each factory a shop committee in which the workers will be represented together with the employer . . . . in view of the conditions of the time equality must be ignored" (Ibid, p. 14).

Dr. Otto Wagener, one of the most prominent leaders of the Brown House, stated on November 7th, 1931, in a speech in Dusseldorf the following:

> "In the future the factory committees will confer with the employers, but the employer, of course, will always decide."

On March 22nd the German newspapers published a report from Coburg captioned "Conclusion of an Important Collective Agreement." According to the report the building employers' organisations of the city and district of Coburg concluded a collective agreement with the national-socialists organisation of factory cells and the self-help organisation of the Steel Helmet, which provides that wages depend upon output for the first time. Rates are fixed in each factory, without reference to any agreement at all, between the employers and the stewards of the Building Workers' Union of the given concern.

In 1868, sixty-five years ago, Schweizer, the successor to Lasalle, carried the decision to create trade unions in the General Labour Union. A year later a similar decision was adopted by the Eisenachers, headed by Bebel, who joined the First International. In 1875, during the Gotha Congress, the two trade union organisations merged into the free trade unions of Germany.

These last months and weeks have seen the sixty-five-year-old circle of trade unionism in Germany being closed. What has been created by generations the fascist jack-boot is preparing to crush, with the aid of the reformist lackeys—who lick it. The most elementary connections between the workers must be broken, the workers are given defenceless to the employers, to be treated as they will. This is the order of the Hitler government, the last hope of German capitalism.

Hitler must force his way to the capitalists' "exit" from the crisis. He came to power at the time of the greatest aggravation and deepening of the world economic crisis. He can offer to the great toiling masses only a further degradation of their already desperate condition, a further reduction of their living standards. That is why he is trying to convert *all Germany into a cemetery,* and destroy the points of assembly, the centres of resistance, of the German proletariat. With the aid of every instrument of terrorism at his disposal, the monopolised press and corrupt trade union bureaucracy, he is leading a crusade upon the trade unions and factories.

There is in Germany only one force willing and capable of organising resistance; this is the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition. This force, which has developed into a mass movement, has established deep roots in the factories and workers' quarters. This force cannot be bought, like the gentlemen who sit in the offices of the trade union executives. This force is destined to launch the resistance of the German proletariat, and lead the struggle against the destruction of the trade unions by the fascist dictatorship. This is the only force capable of arousing the proletariat against the offensive of fascism and capitalism, and leading it in a decisive struggle for the violent overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

The inevitable attacks of the employers upon wages and labour conditions will promote the development and strengthening of the revolutionary resistance of the masses. The starving masses cannot be fed with bullets; the industrial dislocation cannot be remedied by orders of fascist commanders. The workers will be made to realise daily and hourly that, under these conditions, trade unions are more essential than ever, that they must convert their trade unions into organs of revolutionary class struggle.

It was precisely the Communist Party and the revolutionary opposition which have waged a fight for years against the capitulationist policy of the trade union leaders. The C.P. of Germany and the Red trade union opposition have, from day to day, propagated the idea of setting up resistance in each factory, in each shop. They have inculcated into the minds of the working class the view that the treacherous policy of the trade union leaders clears the road to fascism. They have told the German workers: Leipart and his satellites follow in the footsteps of D'Arragona. The real facts have confirmed all of these warnings with undeniable force. With each passing day ever-growing numbers of workers will be convinced of the correctness of the Communist policy. In the German Labour movement the hour strikes of the destruction of the mass influence of social democracy which, thanks to its paralysing actions in the factories and unions is the main social support of the fascist dictatorship of the Third Empire. The hour of the consolidation of the class-conscious workers around the banner of the uncompromising revolutionary class struggle strikes.

The disgraceful capitulation of the German social-democracy and trade union bureaucracy will not pass without consequences to the social-democrats of all capitalist countries. The Bauers and Blums know this full well; that is why they seek to repudiate the German social-democracy. But the road of the German social-democracy, which has led it to its open incorporation with fascism, is no accidental one. It inevitably follows from the entire policy and theory of the social-democracy. Just as the bourgeoisie of every country resorts to fascism as the last straw against the pressure of the proletarian revolution, so does the infamous capitulation of social-democracy to fascism represent an international phenomenon which invariably repeats itself everywhere: D'Arragona in Italy, Sakasov in Bulgaria, Morachevsky and the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party in Poland, Leipart in Germany—all this is not an accidental but an inevitable phenomenon.

The capitulation of Wels and Leipart to Hitler is not only the beginning of the end of the mass influence of the German social-democracy. This capitulation will help us Communists drive the last nail into the coffin of world social-democracy.

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES IN THE SRUGGLE FOR THE UNITED FRONT

O. Piatnitsky

THE E.C.C.I. appeal to the workers of all countries concerning the establishment of a "united front of struggle of Communist and social-democratic workers" against the capitalist advance and fascism, published in "l'Humanite" of March 5 and "Pravda" of March 6,* brought great confusion into the social-democratic parties and the social-democratic press.

The Comintern and its sections are not raising this question of the united front for the first time. On January 1, 1922, the E.C.C.I. and the Central Council of the Red International of Trade Unions proposed to the working men and women of all lands to set up a united front of struggle against the capitalist offensive. In this appeal we read:

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Red Profintern, having examined questions of the position of the international proletariat and the world situation in general, have come to the set conviction that the situation demands the amalgamation of all the forces of the international proletariat, the establishment of a united front of all parties, relying on the proletariat, regardless of the differences which exist between them and in so far as they are desirous of making a joint struggle on behalf of the immediate, pressing needs of the proletariat. The E.C.C.I. calls upon proletarians of other parties to do all in their power to influence their own parties in the interests of common action . . .

"The Communist International calls upon all Communist workers and all honest workers in general, wherever they may be, in their workshops or in their meetings, to unite together as one family of toilers, capable of defending itself and of offering resistance to all attacks of capital, in every critical moment. Forge an indomitable will for proletarian unity, which will wreck every attempt to disunite the proletarians, from wherever it may come. Only if your proletarians will give each other a hand in the workshops and mines, will it be possible to force all those parties which rely on the proletariat and make their appeals to it, to amalgamate in a common defensive struggle against capital. Only then will they be compelled to break their alliance with the capitalist parties."

When, after the war and under the influence of the October Revolution the tide of the revolutionary movement rose high in the most important capitalist countries, and when in the vanquished countries—Germany and Austria—proletarian revolutions broke out, accompanied by the setting up of soviets of workers; soldiers' and sailors' deputies, the social-democratic parties and leaders of the reformist trade unions, in attempts to save their bourgeoisie, not only betrayed the interests of the working class, but physically destroyed the revolutionary workers and their leaders (Germany). Collaboration with the bourgeoisie on the part of the social-democratic parties and the trade union leaders evoked considerable indignation among the working class members of these organisations.

In Germany (already during the war), in Austria, Hungary, England, America and other countries, the revolutionary workers, members of social-democratic parties and reformist trade unions, and the syndicalists, began to form Communist parties. The majority of the members of the German Independent Party, of the French Socialist Party and of the Czecho-Slovakian social-democratic party, spoke at their congresses in favour of affiliation to the Communist International. The minority in these parties, who did not agree with the Congress decisions of their parties, were left to continue their existence as social-democratic parties. Thus a split occurred in the trade unions in France, Czecho-Slovakia and other countries. Because of the collaboration of the social-democratic parties and trade unions, with the bourgeoisie, a split occurred in the working class in all countries of the capitalist world.

In 1921 the bourgeoisie of the large capitalist countries had so much recovered from its post-war, revolutionary catastrophes, thanks to the assistance rendered by the social-democratic parties and the leaders of reformist trade unions, that it began to take away from the proletariat all the gains it had won during this period.

Immediately after the war, when the bourgeoisie was hard pressed by the workers, both the social-democratic party and trade union bureaucrats, while annihilating the revolutionary workers and deceiving the broad masses, pretended that they had won from the bourgeoisie the eight-hour working day and social legislation (including unemployment insurance in Germany, England and Austria). Since, before the war, social-democracy and the trade unions had participated in the

* "Daily Worker," March 8th.

uggle around the daily interests of the workers, e treacherous rôle of the social-democrats and de union bureaucrats during and after the war s not, at first, obvious to the broad masses of rkers. In reply to the E.C.C.I. appeal of nuary 1, 1922, both the Second and the Second-d-a-half Internationals, pressed to it by the asses, took part in a joint conference with the mmunist International in April, 1922, on the estion of forms of struggle against the capitalist ensive. The agreement which was arrived at this conference was openly violated by both the cond and the Second-and-a-half Internationals. ius many workers became convinced that the rties of the Second International and the tions of the Amsterdam International do not sh to form a united front in the struggle against e bourgeois offensive.

During the relative stabilisation of capitalism, e social-democratic parties and trade union reaucrats took part in the introduction of pitalist nationalisation at the cost of increased ploitation of the workers, and in the prepara-ns for armed intervention against the Soviet nion. They led the campaign against the Soviet nion, and acted on behalf of the bourgeoisie as e main source of the calumnious inventions hich served as a cover for preparations for tervention. They drove the Communists and volutionary workers out of all mass organisa-ns where the social-democrats held the leader-ip. The doctrine of Marx, which is the corner-one of the class struggle and proletarian dic-torship, was waived aside by the social-demo-ats and trade union bureaucrats, who introduced its place collaboration with the bourgeoisie, Economic democracy," and the "theory" of rganised" capitalism. They tried to convince e workers that the organisation of large con-rns, the fixing of monopoly prices and so on, the road to the peaceful change of capitalism to socialism.

This, of course, does not stop them now, when their theories are proved openly bankrupt as a sult of the world economic crisis, from persuad-g the workers to accept other theories, which aw them away from the class struggle, or from lling them Marxian theories.

When the crisis began and the capitalists threw illions of proletarians on to the streets, the cond and Amsterdam Internationals hypocritic-ly elaborated a plan of "struggle" against employment, which, actually, only helped the urgeoisie to introduce curtailments in unem-oyment insurance where it already existed (in ermany, Austria, England and Czecho-Slovakia) else hindered the struggle of the Communist arties and Red trade unions to get social insur-ance introduced in those countries where hitherto it had not existed.

Under various pretexts the social-democratic parties and trade union bureaucrats helped the bourgeoisie to introduce cuts in the wages of those workers who were still in industry (especially under the pretext that cuts in wages would be compensated by a drop in the prices of products and articles of general consumption).

The social-democratic parties and trade union bureaucrats pursued the same treacherous policy when the political rights of the workers were being curtailed and trampled under foot (the introduction of martial law, the dissolution of revolutionary, working class organisations, closing down the Communist Party press and that of revolutionary working class organisations, shooting down demonstrators, etc.). Even in cases where, under pressure from the working masses, the social-democratic parties and trade union bureaucrats were compelled to lead strikes, they invariably betrayed them (big strikes of textile-workers in England and France, of miners in America and Belgium). And when the strikes were led by the Communists, the Red trade unions and the trade union opposition, the social-democratic party and the trade union bureaucrats accepted the help of the police to violate the united front of the workers in the strike struggle (the transport workers' strike in Berlin in 1932, the strike of the Lodz textile workers in Poland, the railwaymen's strike in Rumania). It goes without saying that the members of the Red trade unions and the trade union opposition called upon their supporters not merely to participate in strikes declared by the reformists, but also to stand in the front ranks of the strikers (the general strike and miners' strike in England, the general twenty-four-hour strike in March, 1932, and the miners' strike this year in Poland, the general twenty-four-hour strike of German workers in 1932 and many other cases).

The social-democratic parties and reformist trade union leaders agree to call strikes only in order to stem the egress of their own members from their organisations, since among them the influence of, and confidence in, the Red trade union is growing; they agree to call strikes only in order the better to betray the masses in future. The Communists, knowing full well these ulterior motives of the reformists, are all the more active in their participation in strikes, and in being the dynamic force of these strikes. The Communists are the first to take upon themselves the blows of reaction and fascism. This clearly shows the masses *who* it is that is conducting the united front.

The double dealing of the social-democratic

parties and trade union bureaucrats on the question of the attitude to the bourgeoisie (their speeches to the workers in an oppositional spirit, and their actual support of bourgeois governments in parliaments; the utterances of the trade union bureaucrats against cuts in wages and unemployment insurance, and their actual agreement with the factory-owners and their votes in parliaments in favour of cuts) has brought about a feeling of uncertainty in the social-democratic parties and the reformist trade unions. The members of the social-democratic parties and reformist trade unions have begun more and more to participate in strikes led by the revolutionary workers and the trade union opposition (the transport workers' strike in Berlin, the miners' strike in Brüx and in Belgium, the textile-workers' strike in Poland and many strikes in Spain).

The attitude of members of reformist trade unions and the social-democratic party, and local organisations of this party to the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress is very characteristic. As is known, the Second and Amsterdam Internationals were strongly against participating in this congress. However, they could not prevent the attendance at this congress of eighty-two social-democratic representatives of workers' organisations. In France, 141 local organisations of the Socialist Party gave their endorsement to the decisions of the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress, despite the fact that the Socialist Party leadership threatened to exclude these organisations from the party for participating in the congress.

In Germany the united front of social-democratic and Communist workers is established primarily on the streets in fighting against the fascists. But we have also had fine examples in Germany of the united front during strikes (the Berlin transport workers' strike, for instance).

In England, the local branches of the Independent Labour Party, which urged the I.L.P. to leave the Labour Party, are now demanding that it leave the Second International and affiliate to the Communist International. The criticism hurled by the Communists and revolutionary workers against the social-democratic party and the reformist trade union officials, has obtained a ready response among the members of these organisations. The united front of Communists and social democrats has strengthened in the struggle in all countries, and it is this that has compelled the social-democratic parties and the Second International to negotiate with the Communists on the united front.

The social-democratic party and the social democratic press in many countries has put forward demagogic proposals for "a pact of non-aggression" between the social-democrats and Communists. They wrote in their press that since the Soviet Government has concluded pacts of non-aggression with bourgeois governments, why should not the Communists and social-democrats conclude similar pacts of non-aggression? At the same time, of course, they remained silent on the point that the Soviet Union concludes pacts of non-aggression on the part of imperialist governments towards the Soviet Union, which actually pursues a policy of peace and is not preparing to attack bourgeois countries. Moreover, they remain silent on the fact that when the Soviet Government concluded its non-aggression pact, the press of the C.P.S.U. did not undertake an obligation to cease criticising the bourgeoisie and its agents in capitalist countries. The Communists cannot fail to attack the social-democratic parties and the trade union bureaucrats when the latter attack the working class and betray their interests. Let the social-democratic parties and the trade union bureaucrats begin a *real* struggle against the capitalist offensive and fascism, together with the Communists, and it will immediately become unnecessary to strive for "pacts of non-aggression," because they will then be actually realised. But that is just the point; the social-democratic parties want us to cease our criticism without carrying on a real struggle against the bourgeoisie themselves.

The social-democratic parties and trade union bureaucrats wrote and declared: The Communists and social-democrats represent a united army; how can the army fight successfully, if inside it the Communists criticise the social-democrats? And at the same time they hide the fact that ever since the formation of the Communist Party their entire activities have amounted to urging their own "army" against the Communists, and doing their utmost to keep the army, as a whole, back from fighting against the bourgeoisie.

The desire for unity among the workers is very strong. Many workers may think that the Communists are acting unwisely when they refuse to accept the conditions offered by the social-democrats concerning the cessation of criticism against the latter in such a critical moment for the workers, and since it is such an obstacle to establishing the united front, the social democratic parties exploit this feeling and make it appear that they want unity, while the Communists do not.

In the Manifesto of the Second International Bureau of February 19, we read:

"The danger is too great to allow the unanimous desire of the working class for a joint proletarian struggle to be used for party political manœuvrings . . . The Socialist Labour International is desirous of joint action on the part of the entire working class on the basis of open

honest agreement . . . We call upon the German workers and the workers of all countries, in view of the tragic danger before us, to cease mutual attacks and fight together against fascism. The Socialist Labour International has always been ready to negotiate with the Communist International for united struggle as soon as the latter expresses its willingness in this direction."

But it is not joint struggle that the Second International and its sections want, but that the Communists should cease to unmask them. We have nothing whatever to fear from "criticism" on the part of the social democrats. The social democratic parties and the Second International have to convince the workers "to forget the past" and have to persuade them into believing that the social democrats are prepared to turn over a new leaf of history. But despite all this, the Communist International was right when, in its appeal to the workers of all lands, it declared that it considered it possible that on the basis of two conditions: the fight against fascism and against any lowering of the standard of living of the workers and unemployed (see C.I. Manifesto to workers of all lands on the establishment of a united front of struggle between the Communist and social-democratic workers, points a and b)—"to recommend the Communist parties during the time of common fight against capital and fascism to refrain from making attacks on social-democratic organisations." The appeal, however, emphasises that "the most ruthless fight must be conducted against all those who violate the conditions of the agreement in carrying out the united front, as against strikebreakers who disrupt the united front of the workers." (Point c of the Manifesto.)

The social-democratic parties say: Stop your criticism; the Communist International replies: *"Yes, but only on condition that the social-democrats observe the conditions of the agreement concerning concrete struggle in actual deeds, and only for the duration of that struggle."* And the workers understand this. Proof of this lies in the fact that the Communist International Manifesto wrought havoc among the social-democratic parties. Leon Blum, in his article, "Moscow Ignores Zurich," printed on March 7 in the "Populaire" (the organ of the French Socialist Party), wrote:

"The Socialist Labour International has made a direct offer to the Comintern to open up negotiations as soon as possible. The Communist International in its Manifesto does not appeal to the Socialist International, and the Comintern Manifesto does not even reply to the offer of the Second International. *There is not a word in it about negotiations.*"

The official organ of the Second International Secretariat (Information Internationale) on March 6, as though repudiating Blum writes:

"The Communist International Manifesto *contains a clear reply* to the appeal of the Bureau of the Socialist International of February 19."

Thus the Socialist Party of France hid the real essence of the Communist International Manifesto from the readers of its organ, and did not want to recognise even that which the Secretariat of the Second International could not deny. How is this? This is because the French Socialist Party had to hide from the workers that the Communist International recommends its sections to make a proposal to the social-democratic parties to carry out a joint struggle around the actual questions in each given country.

The social-democratic press of Czecho-Slovakia gave a clear idea of the sort of united front it wanted to establish between Communist and social-democratic parties. Thus, the "Pravo Lidu" (the central organ of Czech social-democracy) in an article by the Editor-in-Chief, Joseph Stivin, on the subject of the proposal made by the Czecho-Slovakian social-democrats in 1920, writes about the creation of a "permanent socialist congress," which should be composed of representatives of political, trade union and co-operative working class organisations of all nationalities in the Czech Republic on the basis of the class struggle. This congress should be the highest organ and its decisions binding upon all. Even now the social-democratic party of Czecho-Slovakia conceives unity to be "mutual unity on joint work, the democratic subjection of the minority to the majority." This means that the Czecho-Slovakian social-democratic party, even now, wants the Communist Party to enter into an organisation, in which it will be in the minority and that it should submit to the decisions of the majority. But this would not be a united front in the struggle of the working class, but liquidation of the struggle, since the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party, being fettered to social-democracy, would cease to be the vanguard of the working class in its struggle. The Swiss social-democratic party reacted in the same way to the proposal for the creation of the united front. As the "Baseler Vorwaerts" reports, the Central Committee of Swiss social-democracy entirely avoided the conditions of the Comintern about concrete joint struggle against capital and fascism. This fact alone clearly proves the refusal to enter into the united front. But this is not all. Swiss social-democracy demands the conclusion of a "pact of non-aggression" and that the Communist Party submit to "proletarian solidarity," i.e., that it submit ideologically and politically to

social-democracy, just as the Central Organ of Czech social-democracy also proposes. That the proposals of two parties of the Second International should thus coincide is no accident.

The "Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung" (organ of the Austrian Marxists) in an article entitled "One Step Forward," printed on March 7, writes:

"The reply of the Communist International to the proposal for a united front of the Second International Bureau came too late; so late, in fact, that in Germany, where the united front was required most of all, the working masses cannot be told about the proposal of the Communist International, since all the working class press is closed down. How different things could have been in Germany, if this willingness had been established before."

The "Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung" purposely refrains from informing its readers of the fact that the German Communist Party, immediately after the previous elections to the Prussian Landtag, appealed to all workers' organisations in Germany with the proposal for a united front against the capitalist offensive. The social-democratic party and reformist trade unions did not reply to this proposal. On July 20, 1932, when von Papen dissolved the social-democratic Prussian government, the Communist Party of Germany made a proposal for a general strike to the social-democratic party and the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany. In reply they declared that this call for a strike was an act of provocation.

A similar proposal was made by the German Communist Party on January 30, 1933, when Hitler was appointed Reichskanzler, and the "Vorwaerts" replied: "Hitler came to power legally, we must wait and see what he will do. To act now would be shooting in the air." A third time, on March 1, 1933, the Central Committee of the German Communist Party appealed to the social-democratic party and the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany with a proposal for a joint struggle against fascism. No answer was forthcoming to this proposal. Is it possible that the "Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung" knows nothing of this? Yet it hides the truth and tries to persuade its readers into believing that the Communists are to blame for the crimes of the German social-democratic party.

In vain does the Secretariat of the Socialist International, "fearing" that the socialist parties will enter into a united front with the Communists, propose that they "wait a little with the discussion of the Communist proposals in individual countries, until the Executive Committee of the Socialist International has decided on its attitude to the new platform of the Comintern." The social-democratic press has already sufficiently frankly shown its attitude to unity in deed. The Executive Committee of the Second International would have liked to do it a little less sincerely, a little more skilfully. But actually the refusal of the social-democratic parties to join in a united front is quite in keeping with the plans of the Executive Committee of the Second International.

In Germany, the fascists have begun to smash up the Communist organisations with the assistance of social-democratic police presidents. The reformist trade unions and social democratic party did not prevent this in any way. Now the bourgeoisie, with the help of the fascist storm troops, are crushing the social-democratic and trade union organisations. Thus does the bourgeoisie reward its servants.

Social Democratic Party leaders and the trade union bureaucrats have no desire for unity in the working class; their hypocritical utterances about unity are merely to keep the workers under their influence. But social-democracy will be unmasked. The working class united front of struggle will be established.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE BRITISH UNEMPLOYED AND SOME LESSONS OF THE FEBRUARY 5TH DEMONSTRATION.

R. M. WHITE.

UNEMPLOYMENT in England considerably increased during 1932. In the estimation of Lansbury (made in a recent speech in Parliament) the number of unemployed now reaches three-and-a-half million if only those totally unemployed are to be counted. The number of persons receiving poor-law relief has reached 1,250,000. The destitution among the masses is growing. The Government is brutally enforcing the Means Test, cutting down the dole and reducing the number of unemployed entitled to the dole. The Means Test is supported not only by the Government parties, but also by the Labourites who have a majority in a number of cities.

The zeal of the Labourite municipal councillors in enforcing the Means Test goes to the point of the employment of police against the unemployed, and attempts by police measures to interfere with the Communist councillor seeking to protect the interests of the unemployed, as was the case recently in West Ham, London.

The heads of the Government "promise" a further worsening of the situation of the unemployed, a further reduction of public works, and even more brutal enforcement of the Means Test. MacDonald has "promised" that, even in case of a return to "prosperity" at least two million workers will prove to be superfluous to industry, will become "useless scrap." Chamberlain supplemented this statement by the revelation that unemployment will not be abolished within the next ten years, so that it is useless to spend money on unemployed relief.

Under these conditions of growing destitution and ruthless capitalist attacks the discontent among the masses grows. The opposition to the Means Test is becoming particularly determined. During the second half of 1932 there have been considerable demonstrations on the part of the workers in connection with the Means Test. In Birkenhead and Belfast the workers' demonstrations against the Means Test developed into serious clashes with the police. Defending their right to demonstrate, the workers even resorted to building barricades in the streets of Belfast. The Hunger March on London, organised in the autumn of last year by the National Unemployed Movement evoked a most sympathetic response among the masses. Nearly 100,000 workers demonstrated in London beneath the banners of the Hunger March.

All the mass militant demonstrations have been marked by active participation of the Communist Party which prepares, organises and leads many of the actions. The masses quickly respond to the slogans of the Communist Party and National Unemployed Movement, seize and advance them as their own demands in the militant actions. The determination of the masses to fight against the Means Test and for unemployment relief is illustrated, on the one hand, by the one million signatures collected under the petition against the Means Test, and on the other, by the mass hunger march, the bloody clashes and street fighting in Birkenhead, Belfast and London.

The initiative and leadership in the struggle against the Means Test, and for the direct demands of the unemployed, have always been and still are in the hands of our Party. The Party has ably exposed the activity of the Labour Party, which is responsible for the introduction of the Means Test, which was prepared by the Labour Government; which, actually, still pursues the policy of attacking the working masses. It must be pointed out that, despite a series of attempts on the part of the Labourites and Trade Union bureaucrats, they have not succeeded in converting their unemployed associations which have been created in opposition to the National Unemployed Movement, into really mass organisations. This failure has been due, in part, to the opposition and mass work of the Communist Party and National Unemployed Movement.

The militant sentiments and growth of the mass movement of the unemployed, who have, in a number of cases, been supported by employed workers, have forced the Labour Party and Trade Union leaders to pronounce against the Means Test. The successes of the Communist Party and National Unemployed Movement in organising the National Hunger March, despite the opposition and sabotage of the reformists, forced the reformist leaders to undertake a sweeping manœuvre and proclaim a "National Day" of unemployed, and a mass demonstration to be held in London on February 5th. This campaign was to have wrested the initiative and leadership of the struggle of the masses from the hands of the Communist Party and placed it in those of the reformists. With the same object of isolating the Communist Party and National Unemployed Movement the reformists issued directions not to admit organisations to the demonstration "which are unaffiliated to the Labour Party and General Council of the T.U.C." Later these directions were augmented by instructions to resort to the aid of the police in order to remove the "unaffiliated," that is,

members of the Communist Party and National Unemployed Movement.

It must also be noted that the campaign around the "National Unemployment Day" was carried out by the reformists in close connection with the "call to action" drive which they have lately conducted. The main object of this campaign is to popularise the "constructive programme of socialisation" adopted by the Labour Party Conference in Leicester, which has been advanced in opposition to the policy of the National Government.

In accordance with this policy the reformists resorted to "radical" slogans for the demonstration, such as the alteration of the Government's economic policy, the fight against wage reductions, against the attack upon unemployment insurance, repeal of the Means Test, a new trade agreement with the U.S.S.R., a 40-hour week without wage reductions, a Co-operative State.

While issuing such "radical" demands, the resolution submitted to the demonstration, recommended the "tried" reformist methods of sending deputations to the Prime Minister, while the Press spoke of the necessity of voting for the Labour Party in the next General Elections, which upon securing a "conscious majority" and setting up a "majority Labour Government" will put the programme of socialisation into effect.

From the very beginning of this campaign, the Communist Party adopted a correct course. It called upon the workers to take part in the demonstration of February 5th and convert it, over the heads of the General Council of the T.U.C., into a militant mass demonstration, led by revolutionary workers against the Means Test and for immediate winter relief.

In the course of the campaign, the Communist Party explained to the workers the responsibility of the Labour Government, Labour Party and Trade Union leaders for the degradation of the workers' conditions and introduction of the Means Test, exposed the manœuvres of the reformists in advancing "radical" slogans without really intending to fight for them, and pointed out the sabotage of the unemployed struggle and national hunger march by the Labourites and General Council of the T.U.C. The Communist Party explained the meaning of the attempts of the social-fascist leaders to split the struggling masses and remove the most class-conscious and militant Labour elements from the demonstration with the aid of the police, and came forward in favour of the united struggle of the workers, and opposition to the splitting efforts of the Labour Party leaders and T.U.C. General Council. The Communist Party conducted agitation in favour of organising the class struggle in opposition to the treacherous reformist policy of class collaboration pursued by the Trade Union General Council and Labour Party leaders, explaining to the workers the necessity of converting the February 5th demonstration into a mighty stimulus to the development of the labour struggle against capitalism, against the National Government, for a revolutionary solution of the crisis, for the victory of Socialism.

Therein lay the power of the Communist Party. The reformists wanted to carry out the demonstration, and continue the policy of splitting the ranks of labour. The masses, on the contrary, demand unity of the fighting ranks of labour. For this reason the Communist Party, in opposing the splitting line of the reformists, and calling upon the workers for a joint militant demonstration, found support among the adherents of the Labour Party in the fight against the reformist leadership.

The basic slogans of the Communist Party in the demonstration were : a struggle against the Means Test, unemployment relief, a 40-hour week without a reduction in wages, etc. The means used by the Communist Party in this struggle were mass actions, meetings, protests, demonstrations, the creation of the united front of the employed and unemployed from below, and resort to the organised force of revolutionary mass action. The Party quite correctly regarded the mobilisation of the masses and the establishment of a united fighting front upon definite demands, such as the abolition of the Means Test, an increase of the dole, a fight against the splitting policy of the Trade Union General Council, etc., as the most essential element in the preparations for the demonstration. By this, the Party demonstrated that it correctly understood the problem of the creation of a united militant front of labour.

The results of the work on the basis of this policy manifested themselves even before the demonstration. A number of lower Trade Union organisations, including district councils of Trade Unions, took a stand, contrary to instructions of the General Council, for *a united militant demonstration with the participation of the Communist Party and National Unemployment Movement*. At the demonstration itself, in which about 100,000 workers participated, the resolute support of our slogans by the working masses frustrated the intention of the reformist leaders to separate our columns from the main demonstration. In a number of districts (Willesden, Battersea, etc.) where the leaders of the demonstration attempted to prevent the Communist Party and National Unemployed Movement from joining the demonstration they encountered determined resistance. The Communist Party and the National Unemployed Movement merged with the demonstration, and participated under their own slogans and banners. More than one third of the total number of demonstrators marched under our banners. Even according to the bourgeois Press, the workers throughout the demonstration clearly displayed their sympathy with us.

In order to prevent the isolation of our columns

from the demonstration by the police the Trade Union masses incorporated them within their columns, forming new columns behind our banners, etc. The Upholsterers' Union demonstratively handed its banner over to the Communists, while the Union branch officials carried the Party banner of the Communist Party.

The results of the demonstration revealed that the Communist Party had succeeded in this section in breaking through the wall of sectarian isolation with which the Communist Party has been separated from the masses, due to its sharp struggle against the Trade Union bureaucracy and Labour Party leadership.

Our Party speakers addressed the throng at Hyde Park. Our speakers drew larger crowds than the reformist speakers. Our columns returned from the park in closed ranks. *Large masses of workers recognised the right of the Communist Party and National Unemployed Movement to take independent part in the general Trade Union demonstration*, despite the ban of the Trade Union leaders, recognised the necessity of a united militant front with the Communist Party and National Unemployed Movement in the struggle against the Means Test and for the other demands of the unemployed. The Communist Party achieved this by sharply criticising the reformists, attacking them, advancing the slogans of the united fighting front of the masses and linking up its partial demands with propaganda of its revolutionary slogans.

But it would be extremely harmful to the future work of the Party to see the successes alone, and not to notice the defects occurring in the organisation of the campaign. While noting the campaign of February 5th as an important achievement of the Communist Party, resulting from the adoption of a correct political line and development of mass work, it is also necessary to indicate the defects of this campaign. These defects are: (*a*) failure to put sufficient emphasis on the Communist Party; in a number of articles and speeches the National Unemployed Movement was given prominent place, while the Communist Party was not mentioned at all. Although the National Unemployed Movement is generally identified by the masses with the Communist Party, nevertheless this might have created the impression, in some cases, that the campaign is conducted by the National Unemployed Movement, while the Party played a subordinate part. This is a particularly serious blunder if it is remembered that the reformists played up the Labour Party and its "constructive programme of socialisation" against the National Government.

(*b*) The limitation of the campaign chiefly to London (with the exception of Sandhurst), while the reformists held demonstrations throughout the country in the period from February 5th to 19th.

(*c*) Insufficient criticism of the demagogic social-fascist slogans of socialisation, "co-operative state" and employment plan, and insufficient propaganda of the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

On the other hand, it would be no less harmful, and would serve as a deterrent to the turn of the Party towards truly revolutionary mass work, begun after the January plenum of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1932, if these mistakes were allowed to overshadow the real successes of the Party. The mistakes and shortcomings should not be exaggerated, but when recognised, should be overcome by mobilising the Party for greater revolutionary mass activities.

In this respect a very serious error of omission has been committed after February 5th, namely, the failure by the Communist Party to take advantage of the results of the campaign.

It was necessary, immediately after the demonstration, to raise before the workers who participated in it, the question of what to do next. It was necessary to snatch at the "left" slogans of the reformists, and bring before the working masses a programme of a concrete campaign for these slogans, under which the workers demonstrated on February 5th. This would have given the Party an excellent opportunity to extend its connections with the masses, create mass organs of the united front from below and effectively expose the leaders of the Labour Party and Trade Unions. The Communist Party of Great Britain has not done this, or has done it to an entirely insufficient degree. Apparently it has not yet fully appreciated the fact that the sympathies displayed by the workers for us during the demonstration may again cool off, under the influence of the reformist agitation, and our reliance upon elemental development, and we may find ourselves in the same position as before the campaign. This mistake must be rectified while it is not too late, and action must be taken immediately.

Recently the Communist Party of Great Britain addressed a proposal to the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress General Council to organise joint workers' actions against the Means Test, for unemployment relief and a number of other issues. It goes without saying that neither the Party, nor the revolutionary workers entertain any illusions regarding the "struggle" of the reformists for the demands of the working masses. The reformists may even reply by "agreement" to take action against the Means Test, but in reality they will be evading and sabotaging the struggle by all means. For this reason the Party, without waiting for the results of the negotiations with the reformists, must take advantage of the successes of the campaign of February 5th for the purpose of independently mobilising the workers and the unemployed in the struggle for their demands.

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A. IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL INSURANCE.

THE past year in the U.S.A. has been marked by a series of mass actions of the proletariat and the farmers. A number of economic strikes accompanied by fierce clashes with the police, the farmers' "strike," in which armed bands were organised to prevent agricultural products being hauled into the towns, and repeatedly came into conflict with the police forces, the Veterans' march, which terminated in their armed expulsion from Washington, the hunger march of the unemployed, which repeatedly clashed with the police —all these facts show the growing radicalisation of the workers and the masses of the farmers, the growing determination of these masses to wage a firm struggle for their interests. The source of all this is unemployment, the lowering of wages and the worsening of the general standard of living of the working class, the growth of insecurity of their existence, uncertainty as to the morrow and the ruin of the farmers.

The imperialists are attempting to emerge from the crisis by means of war. War in the Far East, where British and French imperialism is supporting the Japanese imperialists — while American imperialism backs the Nanking government, the war between Colombia and Peru, Bolivia and Paraguay, which are in reality Anglo-American wars for markets and sources of raw materials (oil)—are the first attempts at a military way out of the crisis. But the imperialists understand the extreme danger of war between themselves, especially at the present time, after the completion of the Five-Year Plan in the U.S.S.R., and are trying to organise international intervention in the U.S.S.R., that they may solve the crisis at the expense of the toilers of the U.S.S.R. and all countries. The attempts to find a way out of the crisis through the agency of imperialist war are assuming a somewhat protracted character. The imperialists are slipping slowly into war.

The prolongation of the crisis means a further ruin of the masses of workers and farmers, a further growth of the uncertainty of their existence. Therefore the further radicalisation of the masses, the further growth of still wider mass actions is inevitable.

However, in spite of this growing radicalisation, the political consciousness of the masses still remains at a low level. The presidential election showed, on the one hand, that tremendous masses of workers and farmers voted for the bourgeois parties (democrats, republicans and socialists) and only an insignificant minority (probably 200,000-300,000 if we reckon the stealing of votes) for the Communist Party. Further, the election disclosed the growth of the illusion that the Roosevelt government would find a peaceful and painless way out of the crisis, would liquidate unemployment, etc. On the other hand, the presidential election, the swing of the majority of the electors from the more Right Republican Party to the side of the Democratic Party, and the growth in the vote of the Socialist Party disclosed an increasing dissatisfaction of the masses, and their striving to change the existing position, and thus, indirectly, proves the radicalisation of the masses.

There can be no doubt that the breakdown of the parliamentary illusion connected with the presidential election will set in very rapidly after Roosevelt takes power, and be accompanied by a new and much higher wave of mass actions. Even now there are signs of a new rise of the mass struggle (demonstrations and marches of the unemployed, the strike at Detroit, mass action by the farmers to prevent the auctioning of belongings).

All the bourgeois parties — republican, democratic, socialist and also the A.F. of L. and the Mustéites,* understand the inevitability of a tremendous new wave of mass movements perfectly well, and have been using the greatest demagogy, especially recently, by their projects for a 30-hour week and social insurance, to restrain the masses from activity and weaken these manifestations.

* * *

During the last year, we may observe certain successes of the Communist Party in the leadership of the mass activity (Veterans' march, hunger march, conference of farmers, some improvement in the work among the unemployed, the struggle inside the A.F. of L. for social insurance). But, at the same time, it must be stated that, firstly, the leadership of this activity has been marked by strong vacillations, indecision, and lagging behind the spontaneous upsurge of the movement, and that, secondly, the Party has let a series of strikes slip during the past year, the leadership of which has passed into the hands of the Mustéites and the A.F. of L., and also it has not only failed to consolidate the achievements of last year in the sphere of trade union work, but has permitted the greatest weakening of all the Red trade unions, with the exception of the tailors, furriers, boot and shoe operatives and food

* Group organised by Musté. See "The Next Step," page 75.

workers. In the conditions of a growing mass movement, especially in view of the prospects of a new and higher mass upsurge, such a weakening of mass work as took place in 1932 menaces the Party with a *very serious danger.* The growth in the number of votes cast for the Socialist Party at the last elections, the membership of this party, and the number of its local organisations; the miners' union organised by the Mustéites; the passing of the leadership of the majority of strikes to the Mustéites and the A.F. of L.—all these facts are the reverse side of the lagging of the Communist Party behind the mass movement, and clearly show the nature and the extent of the danger which menaces the Party. Though the Party is even now very weakly linked up with the decisive strata of the native American workers, it is in danger of still greater isolation, in view of the fact that it is lagging ever more behind the mass movement, which, though irregular, is nevertheless increasing.

* * *

The same lagging behind the mass struggle must be noted in the campaign for all kinds of social insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the government, which was begun by the Party in 1930. Compared with 1931, this campaign carried on by the Party in 1932 was weaker, and on a narrower mass basis. And this took place in spite of the fact that, during the last few years, the campaign for the seven-hour day, for social insurance, has been systematically put before the Party as a central task requiring insistent, constant and planned work by the Party.

It was stressed with the greatest urgency in the Communist press as early as May, 1929, that the main demands, capable of uniting the colossal masses of American workers, were the seven-hour day and all kinds of social insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the government, and that the widest and most tireless agitation for these demands must become the chief task of the Party for a whole period, which must simultaneously start to organise the unemployed. Since then it has been repeated on numerous occasions that the struggle for social insurance, especially unemployment insurance, must occupy the central place in the struggle for immediate demands (1930), that the struggle for social insurance and unemployment insurance must be converted into a genuine mass campaign (1931), that the directly central task of the Party is the mobilisation of the masses for the struggle for immediate aid for the unemployed, the insuring of the unemployed, social insurance (1932). This fundamental task of the Party has been repeatedly explained *in the most detailed manner,* and simultaneously detailed and concrete organisational measures have been worked out with the aim of mobilising the masses for the struggle, of creating a system of various organs, of organisationally embracing the great masses. In this very way, the necessity of a systematic campaign in the press for social insurance of all kinds at the expense of the capitalists and the State has been constantly emphasised with the greatest insistence.

It is also necessary to recall the decisions of the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which said that the immediate task of the C.P. of the U.S.A. was the "struggle against the capitalist offensive and the organisation of a wide counter-offensive . . . for social insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the State."

What has the Party done in the course of the four years since May, 1929, when the struggle for the seven-hour day and for social insurance was first put forward as the central task?

In 1930, the Party carried on a wide campaign for collecting individual and collective signatures to a Bill on social insurance, and gathered about a million signatures. Then the Party put forward the slogan of social insurance as the central slogan during the hunger march of 1931. In the same way this slogan was put forward during the Veterans' march and in the election campaign, and also during the last hunger march. However, both in these marches and especially in the election campaign, the agitation for this slogan was completely insufficient.

Thus the campaign for social insurance was carried on unsystematically by the Party, in fits and starts. It had not a sufficiently mass character, and the Party only carried out the plan contained in the decisions of the XI. Plenum to "organise a wide counter-offensive of the proletariat for social insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the State" to an insufficient degree.

And this took place in spite of the fact that the Party had a monopoly in the working class for almost three years on the struggle for social insurance, in spite of the fact that the number of unemployed increased year by year, and, at the present time, has reached 15-16 millions.

* * *

The basic source of the lagging of the Party behind the mass movement consists in the sectarian tendencies still very strong in the Party. These tendencies have found a clear expression, especially recently, in the incorrect manner in which the question of the relation between the political and organisational tasks of the Party, between the leadership of the mass struggle and the organisational preparations for mass activity, were raised in the Party and its leadership. Serious differences arose among the Party leaders

on the question of which is more important—the political leadership of mass struggles, or the organisational preparations for them. Such a contrasting of politics and organisation, from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism, is absolutely incorrect. Without a correct policy, and our whole policy is directed to winning the masses to our side, the mobilising of the masses for struggle against the bourgeoisie, there can be no question of victory. But no policy, even the most correct one, can give victory of itself, and requires organisational measures to carry it out. Policy cannot replace organisation; organisation cannot replace policy. One is impossible without the other. Policy predetermines; organisation decides. Policy is the basis; organisation the derivative. Not politics for organisation, but organisation for politics. For victory, both policy and organisation are equally necessary. Therefore, to raise the question—which is more important for victory—policy or organisation—is utterly wrong. To reduce everything to policy alone without organisational measures, means to convert the Party into a propaganda society, a narrow sect, proud of the purity of its principles, but absolutely separated from the masses. To reduce everything to organisation and the preparation of struggles, also means to convert the Party into a sectarian, petty, "business" organisation, urging the masses to be patient and wait, until the Party prepares everything. But the masses cannot be satisfied with political directives alone, and demand organisational guidance. The masses cannot wait and will not postpone their activity until the Party has made organisational preparations, but demand leadership immediately at every manifestation they make. Therefore, while carrying on persistent political and organisational preparation of mass activity, the Party must, together with this, take the leadership of all mass movements, even in cases when it is by no means ready for this movement organisationally. The Party must take the leadership of mass actions in the condition in which these mass actions find it, introducing further organisational measures in the course of the struggle itself, on the basis of a wide application of the tactic of the united front from below, as was stressed by the decision of the XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

The unclarity and confusion on the question of mass struggles, and particularly the tendency to surrender the leadership of mass activity, or narrow it down under the pretext of organisational unpreparedness (which was shown in the Veterans' march with the greatest clarity) led to the fact that the Party leaders had no firm line on this basic question. Vacillations, half-heartedness and indecision among the leaders were observable repeatedly, which naturally found reflection in all Party organisations, and, above all, in the Party press.

It was precisely this absence of a firm line, the absence of firmness in applying the line; wavering, indecision, and half-heartedness, which found expression in the lack of system in the campaign for social insurance; in spite of a series of categorical instructions as to the central importance of this task for a whole period; the exceptionally favourable conditions for carrying on this campaign in the broadest possible manner; and the monopoly enjoyed by the Communist Party for a number of years in this sphere.

* * *

The monopolist position of the Party in the struggle for social insurance has ended. At present, all the bourgeois parties, together with the A.F. of L. and the Mustéites, are trying to snatch this matter out of the hands of the Party, putting forward their projects for a 30-hour week and social insurance. The Communist Party is faced with the most urgent task—to concretely expose the lying demagogic nature of these projects, and carry on the widest mass campaign for social insurance, converting it into a systematic daily campaign, without losing its leading rôle in the struggle for social insurance, making it the main axis of all Party work— which will be impossible unless a decisive struggle is carried on against the sectarian tendencies and their actual champions.

At the present time, the struggle for social insurance is most closely interwoven with the demagogic slogan of the 30-hour week, put forward by the bourgeois parties. The aim of this demagogic campaign is to introduce the so-called "stagger system" under this slogan, i.e., to take part of the work from the employed workers and transfer it to the unemployed, thus lowering the wages of the workers who are engaged in industry. The reduction of the working day will mean, it is claimed, that a larger number of workers will be needed to do the same amount of work, and part of the unemployed consequently will get work. Such statements need to be most carefully investigated, because, in the first place, experience shows that the reduction of the working week in a number of factories has *not* led to the reduction of unemployment, and, in the second place, the reduction of the working week may lead to a new intensification of labour. Consequently, it is not impossible that, in a number of factories, the introduction of the 30-hour week will lead to no increase in the number employed. The capitalists count on the slogan of the 30-hour week to distract the unemployed from the struggle for social insurance, and set them against workers

employed in industry. Our task is not to repudiate the 30-hour week; but advance the demand for the maintenance of weekly and monthly wage-rates, and the introduction of social insurance of all kinds, first of all, unemployment insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the government. "By the stagger system, the capitalists want to feed the unemployed at the expense of the employed. Not a cent off wages of the workers. Feed the unemployed at the expense of the capitalists and the State. The capitalists want to set the workers against the unemployed. We call for a united front of the unemployed and the employed workers in the struggle for social insurance and to prevent the lowering of wages when passing to a 30-hour week"—such is the way in which we should link up the slogan of social insurance with opposition to wage reduction.

* * *

One of the primary conditions for winning the masses in the course of the campaign for social insurance and no reduction of wages when introducing the 30-hour week, is the exposure of all bourgeois parties, first of all and mainly the social-fascists, chiefly for their refusal to mobilise the masses for a real struggle for their demands, and limiting themselves exclusively to parliamentary means of struggle, and also for introducing splits into the struggle of the working class for these demands. It is necessary to explain to the masses insistently and patiently that it will be impossible to secure the granting of their demands without their determined actions.

However, the matter cannot be restricted to this. The most concrete criticism is required of all the proposals for a 30-hour week and social insurance.

The basic criterion of the 30-hour week is the question of wages. Not a single bourgeois party, including here the A.F. of L. and the Mustéites, is against the lowering of wages when the 30-hour week is introduced in reality. But, naturally, they cannot state openly that they are in favour of a reduction. Therefore, they put various evasive formulas into circulation, to give the impression that these parties are against wage reductions. Thus the A.F. of L. says that it "recommends" no reduction of wages, while Green, who stated that if wages were reduced, the A.F. of L. would employ violent methods, repudiated his threat almost the following day, and explained that the "violent methods" he had in view was economic struggle. All these crooked tricks must be exposed and nailed down by our press. We must constantly remind the workers of these exposed tricksters in our papers.

As for the projects of social insurance, it is necessary to submit them to the most concrete criticism in our papers, and in pamphlets.

The Wisconsin law of social insurance is a reactionary slave law, enslaving and oppressing the unemployed, if they get relief. The law demands: (a) that the unemployed worker prove that he is physically capable of work; (b) that the unemployed worker was not dismissed from work for misconduct or striking; (c) that the unemployed worker has lived in the State of Wisconsin continuously for two years and worked not less than 40 weeks during this period; (d) that the unemployed worker will not refuse any work offered him by the Employment Bureau, otherwise he loses the right to receive relief. The workers are thus tied down to a definite State, and in case of unemployment are condemned to forced labour, receiving relief at the rate of 10 dollars a week for not more than 10 weeks.

The project of the A.F. of L. has a large number of all kinds of provisos, which exclude large strata of the unemployed from the list of the insured, and make it possible to nullify the proposals contained in it. The main thing in this project is that it is a statement against a Federal law and in favour of a separate law for each State, thus splitting the united struggle of the proletariat for a single Federal law up into small parts, breaking up the united proletarian front and making it possible to defeat the separate sections of the unemployed individually.

The draft of Musté is, in essence, this same draft of the A.F. of L., with the additional demand for a Federal subsidy for the States, which demand is intended to create the impression that the Mustéites are for a Federal law.

The project of the socialists, the most demagogic of them all, consists in a forgery of the draft of the Communist Party. In reality, this draft is in favour of insurance by separate States, financed by the Federal government. But the very leader of the socialist party—Morris Hillquit—exposed the lying nature of this project in the press in its central organ, "The New Leader," on November 26th, by practically joining with the project of the A.F. of L., praising it as being the "first decided step in the direction of socialist philosophy," as being near to the socialist project, and although not so far-reaching and generous as the socialist plan, more practical.

When criticising the projects, special attention must be paid, firstly, to the fact that when the projects enumerated speak of insurance against unemployment, they evidently have in view, not those unemployed who are already out of work, but those who will lose their jobs after the law comes into force, and, secondly, that the date when the law is to operate and relief be paid is

put off for a lengthy period in every project (two to five years).

In the past campaign for social insurance, the Communist Party made a series of mistakes, disclosing a flippant, thoughtless approach to it, and a failure to understand its central and decisive importance. This failure stubbornly maintains itself in the Party despite a series of most categorical instructions on the central importance of the campaign. The draft insurance Bill was worked out by the Party from above, and not presented to the workers for discussion. This draft has been changed three times. After the changing of the draft at the Cincinnati conference, with the participation of the representatives of the local branches of the A.F. of L., the original draft of the Bill was presented to Congress during the national hunger march; while the new draft was presented to the convention of the A.F. of L., which inevitably brought confusion into the minds of the workers. The Party did not consider it necessary to popularise the contents of its draft among the workers. The leading comrades, and our press, were content with bare statements that the Communist Party is in favour of social insurance against unemployment at the expense of the capitalists and the government. When the social-fascists (including the Mustéites), following the example of the Communist Party, began to put forward their own projects for bills, the Party and its press paid very little attention to making a detailed examination of these bills, and did not systematically expose them to the workers, in spite of a number of repeated instructions on the necessity of doing this. The Party did not attempt to propose to the workers that they should organise a joint struggle of all workers' organisations on the basis of the united front from below for Federal unemployment insurance on a single occasion, for the appropriation of funds for public works, for the appropriation of funds to assist the unemployed.

A number of facts from the recent period show that a non-serious and inattentive attitude to the campaign continues to exist in the Party leadership. This leads to the greatest lack of clarity in the question of our attitude to Federal or State insurance, and to retreats from the line of struggle for Federal insurance adopted by the Party (e.g., the article of Comrade Bill Dunne in the "Daily Worker" on December 1st, 1932).

A dangerous disorganisation is introduced into the campaign for social insurance by the fact that, after a three-year struggle for *Federal* insurance, the Californian district organisation published its proposal for *State* unemployment insurance, from which the demand for Federal unemployment insurance is omitted, and the amount of relief made to depend on the average wages received, while a demand is included for 3 per cent. of the wages to be deducted from the employers, for the insurance fund. In the same way the Chicago organisation put forward the demand for unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and the State government, while the demand for Federal insurance was completely left out. How does it happen that the Californian district organisation takes, in essence, the line of the proposal of the A.F. of L.? How does it happen that the Chicago organisation replaced the demand for Federal insurance by that of State insurance? Would such things be possible if the C.C. had really led the campaign in a planned and proper manner?

* * *

With the aim of giving the campaign for social insurance the widest militant mass character and ensuring the leading role of the Communist Party in it, it is necessary to introduce a series of varying measures of a political and organisational nature :—

1. It is necessary, above all, to instil the most complete understanding into *the whole Party* that the campaign for social insurance, alongside and including the struggle against wage-cuts with the shortened week (irrespective of whether such a short week is adopted) and the struggle for immediate aid for the unemployed, touches vitally, in addition to the anti-war campaign, the most urgent and burning interests of the proletariat, and that this campaign at the present time is the chief link to be seized to tug the whole chain, that this campaign demands the mobilisation of all Party forces for a whole period of indefinite length, and that a planned, unbroken, every-day and persistent conduct of this campaign is necessary. All the members of the Party must be drawn into the conduct of this campaign on the basis of Bolshevik inner-Party democracy, by raising the question of the struggle for social insurance for discussion by all the Party members, by all the Party organisations (cells, fractions, committees, conferences), by the inclusion of every single member of the Party in the every-day work for conducting the campaign. Every member of the Party must become an agitator for our insurance proposal, must learn to expose other propositions.

2. The Politburo, together with the representatives of the nearest large Party organisations, the representatives of the Red trade unions, the representatives of the fractions of the national committee of the opposition in the A.F. of L., and representatives of the fraction in the National Unemployed Committee, must work out a firm and united tactical line in the struggle for social

insurance (and also against the reduction of wages when a shortened week is introduced, and for immediate aid for the unemployed), and a plan for conducting the whole campaign in the next three months. The decisions of this meeting must be sent to all local Party organisations and Party fractions as obligatory; for fulfilment. It is particularly important to attain unity of action with the aim of preventing such disorganising actions as that of the Californian district organisation.

3. The Politburo decided absolutely correctly that one or more active members of the P.B. must be appointed as responsible leaders to guide the whole campaign. Every two weeks the P.B. must discuss the reports of this leader, and also of representatives of the fraction in the national committee of the unemployed, the fraction in the T.U.U.L., the fraction in the national committee of the opposition in the A.F. of L., and the editorial board of the "Daily Worker" and other central papers. According to the course of the campaign, it is also necessary to discuss the reports of the district organisations.

4. In the same way, the district organisation (above all, in the industrial districts) must appoint a responsible leader of the campaign from among the most active members of the bureau of the district committee, and his report must be discussed every two weeks, together with the reports of the fraction in the town committee of the opposition in the A.F. of L., the local branch of the T.U.U.L. and the local council of the unemployed.

5. It is necessary to mobilise all our Party press (including the language press) and also the trade union papers, the factory papers and the papers of the councils of the unemployed for a wide, systematic, daily conduct of the campaign. This campaign must always be given space on the front page. The main points which must be systematically dealt with in all the papers are the popularisation of our proposal, and of social insurance in the U.S.S.R. (in the most concrete form, by printing extracts from the Soviet laws on social insurance, giving statistics on the number of insured persons, the sums expended by the Central Insurance Board, the hospital service and the sanatoriums provided for the workers, etc.), concrete criticism of the projects of social insurance advanced by other parties, especially the A.F. of L. the Mustéites and the socialists, together with an every-day exposure of their crooked demagogic methods, resistance to the masses entering the independent struggle for social insurance, and the splits they bring into the working class in the struggle for social insurance, which was commenced by the Communist Party and conducted for a long time by it alone; the exposure of the activity of all legislative commissions which only trick and deceive the workers. Further, reports and information on the course of the campaign, meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc., the publication of resolutions for our draft adopted at mass meetings and various workers' organisations, and also letters from workers from the factories and the unemployed. Not a single issue of any paper should appear without a special section dealing with the struggle for social insurance, for immediate aid for the unemployed, against the lowering of wages when a shortened week is introduced.

6. It is necessary to widely disseminate our proposal adopted at Cincinatti among the masses, demanding Federal insurance for all unemployed without exception for the whole period of unemployment, on a scale equal to average wages, but not less than ten dollars a week and three dollars for every dependent; furthermore, the funds must be found by taxing the rich, and the progressive taxation of all incomes over 5,000 dollars, and also (it should be added) at the expense of the military and police appropriations. This proposition should be presented to Congress in place of the first one.

7. It is necessary to appeal to all local workers' organisations, as was decided to do already in 1931, with a proposal for the united front from below, for Federal insurance against unemployment, at the same time supporting the demands of the workers' organisations for appropriations for public works; for the immediate issue of grants for the relief of the unemployed; and also the demand for the exemption of the unemployed from paying for light, gas, water, with a determined struggle against evictions; against the "economy" measures which are being energetically carried through at present at the expense of hospitals, road construction, public works, etc.

8. It is necessary to continue the unemployed marches which were commenced by the Party in some States, within the limits of the State, and to transfer this method of mass struggle to other States, at the same time continuing to organise meetings, the mass collection of signatures for our draft and constantly striving to link up the actions of the unemployed with the strikes of employed workers, with the activity of the Veterans and the poor farmers.

9. In the course of the campaign, it is necessary to form committees and councils of the unemployed, committees of struggle for social insurance, committees of unity, including the employed workers and the unemployed workers' committees, etc. (by calling local, district and national conferences). In connection with such district committees, according to the decisions of 1931, wide

committees, including non-proletarian elements (writers, doctors, lawyers, etc.) who fully support our project for social insurance must be organised. In connection with the central workers' committee (or the central unemployed committee) it is necessary to organise a central committee of sympathisers.

* * *

A new wave of big mass actions of the American workers and farmers is rising. Only if the Party is able, in the course of the campaign for social insurance, to eliminate its sectarian aloofness from the working masses, to strengthen and extend its contacts with the native American workers in the big enterprises in the basic branches of industry, to strengthen and enlarge the Party basis in the factories, to draw all the militant cadres which are growing up in the course of the mass fights into its ranks, to strengthen the leading organs of the Party with fresh and new cadres, will it be able to stand at the head of the millions of American proletarians, poor farmers and negroes who are fighting for a revolutionary way out of the crisis.

THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE FINANCIAL CRISIS AND THE WORLD ECONOMIC WAR.

By P. Shubin.

THE financial crisis in the U.S.A. is a shattering blow to all capitalist economy. As the journal of the British bankers, the "Statist," incautiously expressed it about three weeks before the crash of the dollar, "the final catastrophe in world trade would be reached" (February 8th, 1933). This was at a time when the European bourgeoisie did not dream that this crash was so near. As one of the manifestations of the deep crisis, of the disintegration of the whole of world capitalist economy, the American crash in turn is a factor tremendously accelerating this disintegration in all countries. The headlong breakdown of the money and credit system of the country which has possession of nearly half the world's gold (5 billion dollars out of 11 billions) has buried under its ruins the handful of countries which still maintained the relics of a "stable" currency, the only thing which remained from the short-lived, decaying "stabilisation" at all. The money chaos on the world market which has increased owing to the crash of the dollar will assume very acute forms when the U.S.A. puts into operation against its opponents the mighty lever of war debts which still remains in its hands, in the new conditions.

The struggle for markets was carried on through the whole of 1932 with a world trade which had shrunk to one-third as against 1929, not only by tariff barriers, but by still more sharp weapons such as currency dumping, the complete paralysis of the international capital market, the prohibition of the export of gold and securities, speculation on the lowering of home currency on the international market, etc. This struggle, on the admission of prominent bourgeois politicians and scientists, became a *world economic war.* At present, when the U.S.A., the chief creditor of the whole world and the possessor of the gold, has abandoned the gold standard, and is also passing on to *all* the aforementioned methods of struggle, the world economic war assumes a specially destructive character. But the more violent these means of economic war become, the plainer become their *insufficiency* and the more rapidly will the capitalist world strive towards the *only* "way out" which remains to it, to a new re-division of the colonies and spheres of influence by means of new imperialist wars. And, as we know, the imperialists are trying to find the solution of their sharpening contradictions in increased preparations for military intervention against the U.S.S.R.

This headlong intensification of the struggle between the imperialists on the basis of the accelerating disintegration of capitalist economy, of course, is not in the least contradicted by the fact that, at the very height of the crash on both sides of the Atlantic, there has again been a revival in the talk which had nearly died away concerning the forthcoming world economic conference which must, if we are to believe its organisers, become a conference for "economic disarmament." Even a few days before the crash of the dollar, the new Foreign Secretary of the U.S.A., Hale, stated that:

"If the authoritative representatives of each of the big countries would state openly that it will support a programme worked out by experts for the world economic conference, this alone would be sufficient for the business life of each continent to get into motion again" (London "Times," February 27th, 1933).

But the "Annalist" of March 4th, 1933, saw in such an attitude of the Roosevelt cabinet to the world conference a consolation from all financial unpleasantness. As if replying to the wails of

the American Minister, MacDonald, in turn, after a few days specially emphasised the favourable attitude towards the international economic conference by the "government which will come into office in the next few days in Washington," and expressed his assurance that "our mutual misfortunes must bring us to a friendly decision, put an end to the influences . . . *which threaten to bring all nations to bankruptcy and ruin*" ("Manchester Guardian," March 2nd).

But the matter did not limit itself to this. The increasing fit of "peacefulness" and "friendship" between Britain and America, at the very time when in reality a fight was taking place between British and American financial magnates for the division of the tens of billions plundered from the American depositors and small investors, extended, of course, to the third champion of "democracy," France. The American Ambassador, Edge, on leaving France, completely changed the farewell speech which he had prepared against France, and had already officially distributed, with reproaches on the cupidity of France in refusing to pay its debts, because on that day Roosevelt received the French Ambassador, pronounced an amnesty on France for the failure to pay the December instalment, and invited it to participate in the forthcoming Anglo-American conference. "The ice of distrust has melted," howled the American papers. "Again the unity of the two democracies" seconds the French press, while the "radical" "Volonte" writes of the "democratic Paris-London-Washington front which, it alleges, is going to be formed against the reactionary front, Berlin-Rome-Budapest-Tokio." But fascist Germany was also not intending to let slip the favourable moment of division—it wrote that "the ice of distrust between France and America has melted" only to the extent that a vast part of the internal debts of the U.S.A. itself is frozen. At the very height of the bandit provocation of Hitler in burning the Reichstag, Hugenburg made a special speech over the American radio on the same all-saving mission of the world economic conference. But a "just peace," he said, is impossible until there is a definite revising of the *private* debts of Germany. Taking advantage of the confusion in the U.S.A. over the unexpected financial crash, the German bourgeoisie, limiting themselves for the moment to the demand for the reduction of the burdensome interest payments, puts forward in reality the idea of a refusal to pay on all private debts.

Now the arguments have changed. After MacDonald, it is suddenly discovered that the war loans received by Britain from the U.S.A. did not bring help but destruction (see note of the British government on the eve of the December payment), and Hugenburg, who is preparing to refuse to pay, also finds that the American loans (of which they shouted only yesterday that they had saved Germany and, at the same time, all Europe) in reality only caused harm. The American short-term loans, says he, came to Germany in the form of commodities, and therefore undermined German industry and especially agriculture. The forthcoming world economic conference must correct this "historic mistake."

Thus the imperialists are now shouting louder than ever before of the forthcoming international conference on "economic disarmament." The more the general crisis intensifies, the more energetically will they put this trickery into operation. However, there is no plainer proof of the speed with which the further breakdown of the capitalist system will go on in 1933 than the history of the preparations for this conference, and the pitiful fate of the "pacifist" travails of its programme, drawn up by the best bourgeois economists.

II.

The decision of the League of Nations to call a second economic and financial conference was adopted, as we know, in June, 1932. Since the first international economic conference in Geneva in May, 1927, five years have passed. It is sufficient to compare the position of world economy as it was depicted in the report of the preparatory commission of experts itself ("Draft Annotated Agenda submitted by the Preparatory Commission of Experts"—supplement to the "Economist" of January 1st, 1933) with the position in 1927, to see clearly the results of this bourgeois "Five-Year Plan."

In 1927 the bourgeoisie were trying to solve the *basic question of markets* in conditions which, on the whole, were characterised by the following features:

1. The low proportion of capacity of the productive apparatus in use, but on the basis of the development of rationalisation and the renewal of basic capital at a greater rate than the *increase in output.*

2. The lagging of foreign trade behind production, caused by the fact that the increase in output was *running ahead of the growth of foreign trade.*

3. The existence of an agrarian crisis in several countries, but with a growth in the output of raw materials and food products in almost all the countries of capitalism.

4. The *stabilisation of the currency* in all the chief countries, with a tendency towards a further consolidation and a spread to other countries.

5. Wholesale prices on commodities exceeded pre-war. The bourgeois economists (Keynes,

Carter, etc.) hoped for a fall of prices, but only, in their opinion, owing to the insufficiency in the world gold output.

6. The *growth in the national income* in all the basic countries and a corresponding liquidation of the government and municipal deficits, which, of course, does not exclude the pauperisation of the toiling masses.

7. The considerable boom in the international market for *capital* on the basis of the restoration of the international money-credit apparatus which was destroyed by the war. The inflow of credit from "full-blooded" America to "anæmic" Europe masked the unbearable load of *reparations and war debts*.

8. Protective tariffs are chiefly of a *"defensive"* character. For certain imperialist countries who were not fastidious in this "self-defence," nevertheless, *free trade* still remained more profitable.

9. Commercial credit and currency relations do *not* reach the point of a war of extermination.

10. The growth and change in character of the "abnormally" large reserve army of *unemployed,* with the exception of England, chiefly in defeated countries, while preserving the possibility for the emigration of workers to some European countries (France) and especially to America.

Of course, all these elements of "stabilisation" developed on the basis of the unceasing general crisis of the capitalist system, side by side with the struggle between decaying capitalism and the flourishing socialism of the Soviet Union.

What are the corresponding data for capitalist economy for 1933, and consequently for the London Conference. We will reply to this question by quotations from the notes of the experts who compiled the programme of the London Economic Conference.

1. Industrial output has sharply fallen, especially in the branches producing *capital equipment* (all the italics in extracts from the experts' notes mine). The extent of this fall in some branches can be seen from the situation in the steel industry in the United States, which at the end of 1932 was only working at 10 per cent. of capacity.

2. The volume of *world trade* in money values in the third quarter of 1932 was *one-third* of the same period in 1929. The fall went on continually throughout the whole three-year period.

3. The world reserves of *agricultural products* and other raw materials continue to grow. The index of world's reserves in 1932 *doubled* compared with 1925.

(The experts forget to add that this growth of reserves is taking place not only with the "natural" reduction of agricultural production in crisis conditions, but with administrative pressure from the government on the peasants and farmers to bring about a reduction of sown area.)

4. Only a *handful of countries* still keep the system of a free and uncontrolled gold standard. Almost half the countries of the world have abandoned the gold standard and about 40 countries have introduced currency restrictions.

5. *Wholesale prices* have fallen by about one-third. Prices on raw material have fallen by 50-60 per cent.

6. The national income in many countries has fallen by over 40 per cent. The government income has greatly shrunk, while expenditure does not show a corresponding reduction. As the result there is a *deficit* in the budgets reaching unprecedented extent in many cases.

7. The disorganisation of the currency, the fall of prices, the reduction of trade, have greatly intensified the difficult problem of *debts* which face many, if not most, countries. The total value of the exports of some countries has fallen lower than the sum required to pay foreign debts alone.

8. The limitation of world trade, in the form of prohibitions or quotas or licenses, during the last years has become very widespread. These limiting measures frequently take on the character of a real weapon of *economic war.*

9. The situation is made more difficult by the existence of various measures of control over currency in addition to the system of trading limitations. Currency limitations and discount agreements form an *almost insuperable obstacle* to the obtaining of capital and one of the chief causes of the fall of international trade.

10. The international labour office calculates the number of unemployed as no fewer than 30,000,000 *persons*, but even these tremendous figures, which do not include the families of workers and other dependents, are probably less than the true figures.

Thus "experts" cannot deny that in 1932 the economic struggle between the imperialists is now carried on along the *whole* economic and financial front and on a world scale, in distinction to the tariff war of the pre-crisis period, which was limited chiefly to the sphere of foreign trade. They cannot deny also that this world struggle for markets along the whole front which is taking place in the conditions of a sharp and continuous fall of output, of an equally sharp and irregular fall of wholesale prices, a still more headlong fall of world foreign trade ("the veins of world trade have contracted and it is sick to death," said one of the most authoritative "independent" apologists of American imperialism, Butler, the director of the Columbia University, in commenting on

the programme of the experts), is carried on by *all* the instruments of an economic character and has already taken on the form of economic *war*.

"In the sphere of international trade, prohibitions, quotas, discount agreements and tariff limitations—if we speak only of the widespread forms of regulation—are strangling economic activity and private initiative. These measures which are being taken with the aim of defence and in many cases are compulsory owing to the dislocation of the currency and extraordinary financial difficulties, *have developed to the state of actual economic war.*"

Of course, after the publication of this official document, in which facts "broke through" in spite of its diplomatic wording and reflected the rate of growth of the crisis, the scientific "objective bourgeois journals" continue to try to impress the public that capitalist economy is "beginning to get out of its difficulties," that the crisis is already passing into a state of depression. Even the January booklet published by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the "Economic Review of Wirtschafts Kurve," are absolutely breathing optimism and cheerfulness. The article in this booklet summarising the international market situation gloats over the improvement in the situation of world economy, particularly American economy, for the end of 1932.

"The process of deflation, which was caused by the continual reduction of international credit, has stopped. *In place of the crisis we have depression . . .* The fall of prices has stopped or slowed down."

In the United States *"the return of confidence* has made possible a considerable enlightening in the sphere of consumption."

But should we wonder at this lie? Are not forged statistics, the game of spillikins and false optimism necessary to bring the unprepared masses suddenly under a new blow of the crisis? Is not this the aim, and this in its grossest form—for directly tricking depositors which was used, for example, by the solid American journal, "North American Review," which in the *March* issue, at the time when the financial bandits had already stripped the public, literally wrote the following :

"The outlook for the present and the future is brighter than it has been for many months. The gold reserves of the country are bigger than they were in 1928 and 1929. Three years of liquidation and reductions are behind us. If a *spark of confidence* could shine, the wheels of industry would begin to turn again, even if slowly and creakingly."

Therefore, it is quite "natural and in order" when the bourgeois economists of one country see this "spark of confidence" in the "angelic smile" of Roosevelt and the economists of another country, in Papen's programme of the "introduction of the machine," the economists of a third country in the fall of the unfavourable trade balance of Great Britain, etc. But it is quite unnatural and impermissible for some honest but too trusting writers to succumb to this influence of bourgeois statisticians and economists, especially when they have been within a hair's breadth of swallowing the official optimism of the German statistical institute, or the prophecies of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on the transition of crisis into depression.

One of the chief sources of this mistaken, impermissible estimate of the "commencing transition from crisis to depression" consisted in the fact that they forgot that the irregular character of development of various capitalist countries, by leaps and bounds in conditions of imperialism, still exists in the general crisis of the capitalist system, when capitalism is passing through a regressive "inverse" development. The fact that America got ahead of England in the disintegration of its economy, while France towards the end of 1932 overtook Germany in the rate at which its economic situation worsened, etc., they regarded as a transition to *depression*. They overlooked even the obvious fact that the reduction of the unfavourable trade balance of Great Britain (the chief "index" of the commencing rise of the "world curve") took place not only with a general sharp fall of world foreign trade, but with a fall of the foreign trade of England, particularly as the result of money dumping, which was bound to increase the anarchy in the world credit money system and in finance in general. They did not notice that the course of development of the crisis in 1932 is a plain illustration of how the sharpening of the inequalities in development do not weaken the basic contradictions of capitalism, but strengthen them. They particularly failed to notice the existence of a world economic war, which even the Geneva experts were compelled to recognise.

III.

How do the Geneva "saviours," however, expect to bring mankind out of the state of economic war and restore him to the heaven of "prosperity"?

In the light of the recent crashes, the falseness and helplessness of this bourgeois scheming stands out very prominently. In their programme, the bourgeois experts put chief emphasis on the return to the principles of the first international economic conference of 1927, although pretty crumpled and faded. Here is the stabilisation of currency and the establishment of an international

money standard (which everyone agreed can only be a gold standard !), here is the abolition of prohibitions on the export of gold and the annulment of all money restrictions in general, freedom for the movement of capital, the abolition of tariff barriers, the establishment of budgets without deficits, the struggle against inflation, the restriction of economic nationalism, and, of course, speculation on the international market with the aid of artificially reducing a country's own devaluated currency, etc. What a wealth of good intentions. They have well paved the way to the American crash and the subsequent furious financial fight of the imperialists.

In 1928 the bourgeois hypocrites somehow managed to drag their plans through the international conference, to put them in the form of resolutions and even to work out the draft of an international convention, and at the basis were the same principles of free trade. (However, purely "by chance" this conference did not include the participation of "some of the interested countries," as the result of which it continues, like the other "pacifist" plans, to moulder in the offices of the League of Nations.) The programme of the experts, for whose reliability MacDonald, Roosevelt and Hugenburg, etc., vouched, remained a dead letter.

"In reality," wrote the experts, "our programme is a programme of *economic disarmament.* With the aim of an economic truce, the agreement in Lausanne was signed. The London conference must work out a plan for a peace treaty. Failure to solve this task threatens that all over the world the ideal will be national isolation and that it will rapidly break all the threads of economic development.

But this "failure" of economic disarmament can no longer be concealed. Is it so long since the American delegates had to "prevail upon" the British delegates (and to a certain extent succeed, in words, of course), urging them to recognise the necessity of returning to the gold standard—this central point in the programme for bringing health to world economy. Not only in the preparatory commission but also in the succeeding negotiations between Washington and London, America tried in every way to compel the enfeebled pound (and for the very reason that it was so !) to climb on to the gold pedestal which was already beyond its strength. Britain resisted. Its "success" in 1932, according to the unanimous opinion both of British and American economists, was based on the devaluation of the pound, on paper money, this currency of the poor, most suitable of all for the conditions of crisis. "At the same time, Britain considered that the falling pound was stable enough to subordinate to itself the paper money of other countries and prevent money anarchy on the world market, forming a "sterling union." In the course of a few weeks all these calculations vanished into thin air. The dollar not so much went off the gold standard as it was thrown off, while the pound was found to be under the blows of a currency which had run far ahead of it in its fall, and in expectation of still more stunning blows from American inflation.

It is true that the President of the U.S.A., after he had put into operation the dictatorial powers given to him to force on to the population certificates backed by frozen credit, i.e., credits which should really be written off, and having barred the path of all American depositors to their sacred private property, still pretends not to know whether America has abandoned the gold standard. In reply to the questions of journalists he always maintains the same silent smile. This silence of the Democratic president is really golden, but only for those financial magnates who, concealed by the "not yet officially determined" situation of the dollar, have drawn hundreds of millions of dollars from the banks, have managed to transfer part abroad, have managed to seize on that very *part* of the treasury short-term notes which were issued in *gold* dollars and which mature in the next few days, etc. The overwhelming majority of the population of the U.S.A. receive from the twofold nature of the dollar, and the two kinds of money circulating in the country, only an increase in the horrors of the sudden and evilly prepared money inflation of the magnates. In any case, America will no longer put forward, as its chief demand in negotiations with its debtors, that they return to the gold standard. On the contrary, Britain now tries to persuade America not to leave the gold standard, keeping to it if not in its own interests, then to prevent money chaos on the world market. We have already mentioned above what alarm was shown by the weekly "Statist" at the first news of the moratorium in Michigan :

"Fear of the inevitability of a new wave of bank crashes in the United States, plus the unbalanced budget and the tremendous unemployment, are factors which can—it must be definitely admitted —in the long run threaten the gold standard in the U.S.A. If the hoarding of gold coin by private persons compels America to abandon gold circulation, *the final catastrophe in world trade would be reached, a catastrophe which at the same time would sweep away all the advantages which Britain received from the fall of the pound"* (February 8th, 1933, page 241).

But the journal foresaw not only the devaluation of the money of other countries, but a striv-

ing to overtake each other in this fall, with the aim of penetrating into the foreign market with the aid of money dumping. The dumping of devaluated currencies (especially by Japan, South Africa, Denmark, etc.) increased when the fall of the dollar was foreseen. It is now taking on a catastrophic character.

"This system," writes the "Statist" in another issue, "will lead the world into money chaos, more destructive than that from which it emerged with such great difficulty in the period 1923-1927."

But these are only the flowers of the new intensification of the financial crisis. The fruit still lies ahead.

IV.

What was the general economic situation in the U.S.A. on the eve of the bank crash?

We know that with the general sharp reduction of world foreign trade in 1932, America overtook all the chief countries in this fall, especially in the sphere of export. At the same time, wholesale prices, especially on raw materials, fell in America through the whole period more sharply than in other countries. January gave a further worsening along the whole line. The January exports were 9 per cent. lower than in December, although even taking into account the maximum seasonal changes, they should not have fallen by more than 3 per cent. Imports were 1.1 per cent. lover than December's, although with the normal seasonal changes they should have been 3 per cent. higher. Exports were the lowest for the period since 1914. According to the Bureau of Labour, prices in January continued to fall as follow: The wholesale index for all commodities fell by 2½ per cent. and for foodstuffs 4½ per cent. Railroad freights managed to keep at the level of the beginning of the year only because the transport of coal was higher than normal owing to the frost. The occupation of workers fell by 3 per cent. for January. The total of wages in the basic groups fell by 5 per cent. for the month. The index of occupation of workers in the manufacturing industries in January, 1933, was 56.6 per cent. against 58.3 per cent. in December and 64.8 per cent. in January, 1932. The wages of workers and clerks fell by not less than 55 per cent. compared with 1929. The output of electric energy, the mining of soft coal and zinc, the use of cotton, etc., were all lower than in December. Thus the bank crash was only one of the manifestations of the general economic crisis, which, of course, not only does not exclude, but on the contrary, makes inevitable, an adverse influence on the part of the disordered financial crediting system upon the sharpening of the crisis.

In such circumstances, the first signs of the bank panic broke on the workers like a thunderstorm. Throughout the country, the public felt the approaching danger of ruin. But all the bourgeois parties, all their press, were at the service of the financial plotters. "Berliner Tageblatt," in the issue of March 3rd, gives utterance to special praise of the American press for the model discipline at the time of the panic. This praise is well deserved. The leading article of the "New York Times" on February 16th assured us that the moratorium in Detroit was only a "misunderstanding," and "there were no grounds for fearing that the Detroit practice would become a precedent." The papers persuaded the depositors, who are very numerous in the U.S.A. owing to the absence of any social insurance, that "the re-organisation of the banks would now be carried on without any panic," and stated that there was *no surprise at all on the part of society.* It is noteworthy that the "Annalist" of February 24th, i.e., when the bank crisis was at its height, a journal which in "peaceful" times even occasionally allows itself the luxury of giving figures showing the real state of affairs, even illuminating these figures with a certain shade of "pessimism," i.e., differing from the official optimistic version, utilised its reputation, at the decisive moment, to make its deceit more plausible. The reputation of "objectivity" obtained in "peaceful" times was used to bring the public before the unexpectedness of the catastrophe. As on the eve of the stock exchange crash in 1929, the American press and its scientists carried on organised swindling well. Referring to the spread of rumours on inflation, Bekker, in the leading article of the "Annalist" on February 24th, wrote:

"There are no grounds for distrusting the conduct of Roosevelt on the question of sound money and a balanced budget. Naturally it would be useful if some declaration on his part could be counterposed to the present destructive tendency in Congress, but it may be wiser to *delay the statement* on his policy until he reads his general message."

Thus, whether Roosevelt speaks against the possibility of inflation or keeps silent on the matter —all is well! The population has no grounds for losing faith. Under cover of these lies, the financial magnates carried on their banking plunder, which even in the calculations of the American press will take up to 6-7 billion dollars from the depositors. Two billion dollars, which were appropriated by the government finances for the Reconstruction Corporation for subsidising the banks were stolen *to the last cent*, in the first days of the bank crash. At the same time there was a plundering of the gold reserve. While the

small "clients" were standing in long lines outside the Federal banks waiting to exchange their paper money into gold, the financial marauders, while trying in every way to terrorise them, taking their names and addresses, and accusing them of having no patriotism, sucked out gold by secret channels, of course, "lawful" and without any doubt of their patriotism, from the bank vaults and sent it abroad. In the first week of February alone, it is now discovered, over 350 millions were sent out of the U.S.A. in gold, a great deal of it being "national," i.e., belonging to American citizens. But, of course, with the collaboration which exists between the leaders of the financial gangs of all countries and in view of their "internationalism," the gold exported as French or British may easily turn out to belong to some agent of Morgan, Rockefeller, and Co.

America, so highly praised for its "golden full-bloodedness," is now in the throes of a financial crisis.

"Only yesterday the bourgeois, intoxicated with the prosperity of industry, saw money through a mist of enlightening philosophy and declared of its empty outward appearance: 'the commodity alone is money'—'money alone is a commodity'; the same bourgeois is howling from all corners of the money market. As the hart pants for cooling streams, so the bourgeois soul pants now for money, the only wealth" ("Capital").

It is now quite clear that the Federal reserve system was in such a hurry to help the provincial banks of the western farming states that it accelerated their crash. Among other things, it has been already brought to light that with this aim, the Federal reserve system boasted all the time that it was buying government bonds for a tremendous sum with the aim of extending credit, and sharply cut down on the purchase of these bonds on the very days and hours when the small banks needed to sell these government papers which had been forced on them previously, so as to have ready money to pay out to depositors. While "hinting" at this operation, the British "Statist" is not at all disposed to condemn it.

"The steps which were taken to *reduce the possibility* of the withdrawal of deposits in the U.S.A. were plainly calculated on increasing insecurity and extending pressure to those banks and states which were not yet affected by the moratorium . . Probably they (the financial powers) considered that the general securing of the assets of the American banks was so serious that the depositors who were affected *would have to share in the losses.* If this is the case, *it would not have been just to form a privileged* position for certain depositors, making it possible for them to withdraw their money in full."

Now, when the power of the financial magnates in America has greatly grown, both as the result of the dictatorship of Roosevelt and because they have been able to lay their hands on tremendous gold reserves while deals in gold are prohibited, the attempts of 16,000 small banks to save themselves from so-called "reorganisation" are absolutely hopeless. The small depositors of these banks are farmers, traders, small manufacturers, and are still waiting for a miracle. Roosevelt in his programme speech promised "to put an end to speculation with other people's money," to "extend control over the banks," etc. But under the mask of Roosevelt is hidden the real Baruch, at the same time the chief of the bankers and the chief financial adviser to the democratic president. In order to "comfort" the petty bourgeoisie who are going to the bottom, the financial speculators "give" them some embezzling director of a bank, such as the director of the National bank, Mitchell, and in extreme cases show them how some swindler of a higher grade goes through a "moral unpleasantness" in giving evidence at the Senate commission. But further than this, of course, Roosevelt cannot go in punishment of banking.

A year ago, when Molotov characterised the face of the modern bourgeois society and showed that the criminal type Al Capone is "so to speak, one of the pillars of bourgeois society," part of the American press was offended, or pretended to be. Such types as Capone, they said, are outlaws from society. A year later, however, in close relationship to Capone, and in the Senate commission, no less a person was caught than Mitchell, the chief director of the biggest bank in America, the "National City Bank," who was, and probably is still, highly respected in society. In the commission it was found that in three years of prosperity, Mitchell had stolen 3.7 million dollars in the form of bonus in addition to his salary, at the same time ruining his clients by his speculations. Senator Miller of Montana, a demagogue playing on the feelings of the farmers, discovered this but not earlier than extraordinary measures were needed to show the independence of the Senate of the bankers.

"It seems to me," said he, "that the best means for restoring confidence in the banks would be to take these swindling presidents and *treat them in the same way as Capone when he refused to pay lawful taxes.*" ("New York Times.")

But Capone, as we know, with all his services and connections was not lowered to imprisonment (though an American jail is not a bad place for big bandits). Mitchell, who stole more, got off with resigning voluntarily, and got a shade of sympathy from the press. What punishment will be given to Mellon, late Financial Secretary, one of the richest men in America and one of the

most energetic suppliers of arms to Japan, about whom the newspapers state that he hid hundreds of millions of dollars from income tax? Or to the banking house of Morgan, Kahn, Lebe and others, which in another Senate commission were caught issuing money to their own clients, though knowing that they were already insolvent as members of the Financial Reconstruction Corporation? Of course none at all. These people have stolen too much. Though they are caught, they are not thieves.

* * *

The first international economic conference took place at the zenith of relative "stabilisation," and according to the press of the time, reached its highest point when the president of the conference, at that time minister in Belgium, Tennis (who is still one of the vilest agitators for armed intervention in the U.S.S.R.), stated:

"We know that the day will come when our work will bring more happiness to mankind, and this alone makes it possible to take pride in the life we have lived."

And what did the Bolsheviks say? Soon after the Geneva conference in December, 1927, Comrade Stalin said:

"It is becoming uncomfortable for capitalism in the limits of the present markets and spheres of influence. Peaceful attempts to solve this problem of markets have not given any results. The declaration of the bankers in 1926 about free trade, as we know, broke down."

"The economic conference of the League of Nations in 1927, which had the aim of uniting the economic interests of the capitalist countries broke down. The peaceful path for solving the problem of markets is closed for capitalism. There remains the *only* "way out" for capitalism: a *new* re-division of colonies and spheres of influence by new imperialist wars." (Questions of Leninism.)

The Bolsheviks were right.

The intensification of the economic crisis in the U.S.A. is accompanied by an unprecedented sharpening of the class antagonisms inside the country. The financial oligarchy, which only yesterday denied that it was preparing dictatorial powers for the executive government, has now converted Roosevelt into a financial dictator. The "democratic" president's dependency upon dexterous managers is becoming more and more obvious. The population which only yesterday was lulled to sleep with pre-election promises, is to-day feeling upon its own back how the State apparatus renders service to speculators and sharpers.

Bank moratoriums and financial inflation have wrecked millions of small investors throughout the world, the majority of whom are workers and peasants. Poverty and unemployment are increased. All along the line there is a further curtailment of production and trade. The slogan issued by Baruch, the banker —"economy is the only means of fighting against a deficit in the budget"—has already swept away the remains of the miserable charities which the bourgeoisie of the richest country in the world previously bestowed upon the unemployed. Additional cuts are being made in actual and nominal wages. The payment of wages is postponed more and more under the pretext that the owners cannot get money from the banks; payment is made in trashy certificates or in other substitutes for money with the explanation that they are equal in worth to dollars. As is always the way when two types of money are in currency, the less valuable type is pushed off on to those who need it most. In consequence there is a rise in retail prices, especially on essentials, and the worker's family immediately feels the result of inflation in the form of undernourishment.

The financial crash also hits the farmer, although in another, less obvious form. Bourgeois demagogues, who control the kulak farmers' organisation, advise the masses of ruined farmers to "revel" in the results of inflation. Using the rise in prices which the farmer will receive for his produce as an excuse, they strive to smash the movement against payment of taxation and debts. The farmer, who is compelled to turn to the market to buy articles which are essential to him, finds himself confronted with exorbitant prices, which affect him as well. And even as the seller of his own produce he is deprived of the results he should gain as a result of the inflated rise in prices on agricultural produce, because of the powerful monopolist middlemen. The American farmer knows by the experience of the last few years that any sudden, temporary, rise in prices (as for instance in the price of wheat last year) brings profits only to the monopolists.

Meanwhile, behind all the noise about inflation, the government is about to operate a programme for the forcible curtailment of the sown area with a determination and relentlessness of which even Hoover never dared to dream. In these circumstances, with correct leadership on the part of the Communist Party, the ruined farmers will become the true allies of the proletariat in their struggle against the increasing offensive of capital.

Perhaps the situation in the U.S.A. was never so favourable for the launching of a mass revolutionary struggle around the day-to-day demands of the workers and ruined farmers as it is to-day.

THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION IN THE IRISH FREE STATE AND THE TASKS OF THE IRISH COMMUNISTS.

By Tom Bell.

THE Irish Free State elections have resulted in Fianna Fail (De Valera's Party) getting 71 seats, a majority of one over all the other parties combined; the Labour Party eight seats, an increase of one seat, while the opposition parties received 68 (Cumann na nGaedheal 48, decrease of eight; Centre Party 11, and Independents nine). De Valera's government, supported by the Labour Party, has a majority of 16 over the combined opposition in the Parliament. The extent of the gains of De Valera can be seen from the number of first preference votes received (the voting is by proportional representation) :—

	1933	1932
Fianna Fail	689,458	566,325
Cumann na nGaedheal	417,467	449,779
Centre Party	126,795	34,989
Independents	68,892	124,513
Labour Party	79,222	98,263

The Fianna Fail vote increased by 123,133 and the Cumann na nGaedheal decreased by 32,812, while the combined opposition vote increased by about ten thousand. The total Labour Party vote decreased because of fewer candidates being nominated: 30 candidates in February last year, and 13 this year; the votes for the successful candidates slightly increased. Had the elections been held on the English system, instead of under proportional representation, De Valera would have gained a substantial majority instead of only five of an increase in spite of the greatly increased vote.

The significance of the De Valera vote is the great increase in first preferences, the increase in votes in Dublin and Cork, that he was able to secure further thousands of workers and small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie as his supporters. The huge vote for De Valera is an expression of the further development of the militant mood of the masses against British imperialism, of their willingness to struggle for the independence and unity of the country and against the British imperialist agents in the country as expressed in the Cosgrave opposition, and for their social demands. De Valera received this huge vote because his party appeared to be the party leading the struggle against British imperialism, the party offering the workers and poor farmers a way out of the crisis, the party which fights the forces of imperialism and finance-capital within the country.

The masses saw in the combination of the Cumann na nGaedheal, Centre Party and Independents, led by Cosgrave, a concentration of the imperialist-capitalist exploiting farmer elements in the country, the same class grouping which had broken the national revolutionary war against imperialism in 1921, had waged civil war, shot the leaders of the Irish Republican Army, ruled the Free State by coercion acts and police terror, and led the capitalist offensive against the mass of the workers and farmers. During the ten years' rule of the Free State by the Cosgrave government the masses had bitter experience of the rule of the pro-British groups of capitalists, rentiers and capitalist farmers.

De Valera, on the other hand, with his programme promising the establishment of a free, united, and economically independent country cutting land annuity payments in half and promising distribution of land at the expense of the estate and cattle ranch holders, industrialising the country and supplying employment to the unemployed and raising the standard of living of the masses, appeared as the only alternative to the open pro-imperialist finance-capital camp of Cosgrave. De Valera posed as the representative of the Irish people against British imperialism and its agents within the country.

The election is evidence of the reaction of the Irish masses to the policy of British imperialism during the past year. British imperialism rejected even the modest demands of De Valera for a revision of the Anglo-Irish treaty: the abolition of the oath of allegiance, and the retention of the land annuity payments was met by an economic blockade of the Free State by means of prohibitive tariffs against Irish imports into Britain; an attempt to force complete capitulation to British imperialism. The imperialist press continuously predicted the economic collapse of Ireland. At the same time the imperialist allies within the country received every encouragement from British imperialism. Every statement and action of the Cosgrave opposition for submission to the terms of the treaty, the formation of the armed bands of Cosgrave supporters by the Army Comrades' Association, and the attempt to organise a united "National Party" in opposition to Fianna Fail—the organisation and consolidation of the whole pro-imperialist camp — was supported by British imperialism.

Even the Labour Party was able to make gains in this election because it posed as being against British imperialism, and because of its support

of the De Valera government against the Cosgrave opposition. The "Irish Press" cynically expressed this editorially when it pointed out that the Labour Party had gained by receiving republican second preference votes, and that "hitherto the party did not attract republican second preferences because the treaty hung around Labour's neck as around Cumann na nGaedheal's like a dead albatross." The Labour Party strengthened its position in spite of the fact that it has betrayed every important national and social struggle of the Irish masses and had played an open pro-imperialist rôle in the establishment of the Free State, because it now appears to be against British imperialism, kept its too thoroughly compromised leaders in the background, and had the blessing of Fianna Fail in the elections, and was preferable to Cosgrave candidates.

De Valera's election manoeuvre of a speedy election prevented the consolidation of the Cosgrave opposition into a single party and took them at a disadvantage. The moment of the election also favoured De Valera because the result of the British tariff boycott on Irish agricultural imports is a fall in prices of foodstuffs in the Free State, the government bounties on exports have prevented the farmers feeling the full effect of the British tariffs against them, while the protective tariffs on manufactured imports have not yet raised prices more than the fall in prices of foodstuffs. Increased expenditure in relief and public works has aided the unemployed (as compared with their situation under Cosgrave), which came about as a result of the mass pressure of the unemployed on the government, which was especially effective after the great struggles of the Belfast unemployed last October.

This situation and the demagogic statements of De Valera about a "new social system," reorganising the country on the basis of "Christian communism instead of pagan capitalism," the promises regarding land annuities and land distribution to the farmers, help to cloak the social reactionary policy of De Valera, but does not stop the growing resistance of the workers to the capitalist offensive. This is shown by the growing activity of the unemployed, the stubborn strike of the Kilkenny miners for better conditions, and the resistance of the railwaymen, teachers and civil servants to wage cuts. The strike of railwaymen against a ten per cent. wage cut was only prevented prior to the elections by a government subsidy to the companies which postponed the question until April. On the eve of the election there was also a postponement in government "economies" at the expense of the wages of the civil servants.

De Valera's programme is a definite programme of the Irish national bourgeoisie which fights British imperialism to secure its own class interests. He issued very moderate manifestoes during the campaign, calling for a majority Fianna Fail government which would be in a position to carry through a policy abolishing the oath of allegiance, retention of the land annuities, reorganising the senate, establishment and protection of manufacturing industries, preservation of the home market for the farmers, encouragement of wheat growing, economy in administration, preservation of the Irish language which he said "are still the immediate objective, leading ultimately to a reasonably self-contained and self-sufficing, free and Irish Ireland."

De Valera, in applying such a programme, comes into conflict with British imperialism, because the tribute exacted from Ireland is an obstacle preventing its application. At the same time, to win the support of the Irish masses for his programme he appears before the masses with the most radical republican phrases, promising a free, united and independent Ireland based upon a "new social system" which will abolish the poverty, misery and exploitation under which they suffer. De Valera's struggle against British imperialism is strictly limited to furthering the interests of Irish capitalism. Therefore, it pays no attention to the social needs of the masses, although such reforms are carried through as are compatible with the interests of Irish capitalism, *e.g.*, halving the land annuity payments, and cannot organise and lead a consistent revolutionary struggle for independence because that would clash with the interests of the Irish bourgeoisie.

Fianna Fail constitutes a barrier to the development of the revolutionary advance of the masses; it is a social prop for Irish capitalism among the masses, limiting the anti-imperialist advance of the masses to the national-reformist aim of gaining concessions from British imperialism for Irish capitalism, while putting forward the aim of a united and independent Ireland in words, to achieve which it does not organise a revolutionary struggle. Its social-reactionary programme is shown by its phrases about the betterment of the conditions of the masses by making the country independent economically by industrialisation, wheat-growing instead of cattle-raising—"Christian communism instead of pagan capitalism"—which in practice means developing the internal market by means of protective tariffs, bounties, etc., for the capitalists, and ignoring of the social demands of the workers and the capitalist offensive against the wages and conditions of the employed workers and unemployed.

The I.R.A. supported Fianna Fail with reservations, criticising its weakness in the national

struggle and demanding "public ownership" of industry and reaffirming the struggle for an Irish republic. This programme is a step forward over the previous position of the I.R.A. which was formulated as "Either De Valera or Cosgrave," *i.e.*, binding the revolutionary republicans to the support of De Valera. But the issue of an independent Party of the workers and small farmers leading the revolutionary struggle against British imperialism and for the Irish Workers' and Farmers' Republic was not raised by them. The further development of the struggle in Ireland will make it clear to the revolutionary republicans in the I.R.A. that if they are not to be the tail-end of De Valera's national-reformist capitalist party they must base their actions on the slogan: Neither De Valera nor Cosgrave—for the interests of the workers and small farmers, for the independence and unity of the country in a Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

The Revolutionary Workers' Groups, carrying on the struggle for the formation of the Communist Party of Ireland, in the election correctly directed its main fire against the pro- imperialist Cosgrave camp, criticised the national-reformist and social reactionary capitalist programme of De Valera, and called for a revolutionary mass struggle for the independence and unity of the country and the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Republic. The reactionary election laws of the Free State require a deposit of one hundred pounds for each candidate, and the R.W.G. was prevented from going on the ballot because they were late in making this deposit, which was difficult to raise, and, of course, the government bureaucrats were only too glad to keep the R.W.G. off the ballot. The R.W.G. during the last period has been the centre of attack for all the reactionary forces in the country, and the Catholic church was especially active in the anti-communist campaign. Wherever the groups had been successful in leading the workers in their struggles for better conditions the church took a leading part in the organisation of the attack on the workers and the revolutionary leadership, as, for example, among the Kilkenny miners where the church has excommunicated all workers who join the militant miners' union which had successfully forced better conditions for the workers. In other places revolutionary workers have been blacklisted, and in Cork the church openly organised hooligan attacks against unemployed meetings organised by the groups. Nevertheless, the R.W.G. entered the elections independently of all other parties as part of the campaign for the formation of the C.P.I., to place before the workers and small farmers the necessity for the formation of such a party to lead the struggle for the Workers' and Farmers' Republic. The R.W.G. put forward a programme of revolutionary struggle against British imperialism to mobilise the masses of workers and farmers for the struggle for national independence:

(1) Annulment of the Treaty as a first step to the establishment of an independent Republic for all Ireland.

(2) Neither tribute nor arbitration on the tribute; immediate use of the money in the Suspense Account to relieve unemployment and the poor farmers.

(3) Measures of national defence against the British attack, such as punishment up to and including confiscation of poverty, and imprisonment of all who assist the imperialist enemy against Ireland.

(4) Disbandment of the C.I.D. and suppression of the White Army.

(5) Work or maintenance for all unemployed workers. Money to be provided by increased taxation on incomes over £500 per year.

(6) Reduced rents on all workers' dwellings. No rents on slum houses.

(7) Release of all political prisoners; legality for the I.R.A. and all revolutionary organisations.

(8) Release of small farmers and low quality land from all annuities, and ranchers and big farmers to be compelled to pay in full, the money to be used to relieve unemployment.

(9) All burdens of the economic war to be placed on the shoulders of the rich.

The R.W.G. correctly exposes the national reformist policy and programme of Fianna Fail, but did not sufficiently expose the social reactionary character of its policy and programme and put forward a programme of demands of the workers against the capitalist offensive on their wages and working conditions. Besides unemployment the workers and agricultural labourers are suffering from wage cuts, rationalisation and worsened working conditions. This was shown during the past year in the attacks on the railway workers, etc., and the general wage-cutting offensive of the employers in which the Fianna Fail joined, by the "economies" at the expense of the wages of civil servants and teachers. There is growing resistance on the part of the workers to this offensive (railwaymen) and in some cases the workers fight stubborn battles for better conditions (Kilkenny miners). The weakness of the R.W.G. election programme is that it does not form a sufficient basis upon which could be built up a militant united front of the workers fighting against the capitalist offensive on their standard of living. At the same time such counter-demands of the workers based upon their immediate needs is the most effective exposure of the demagogic

talk about a "new economic system" carried on by De Valera. Leadership of the everyday struggles of the workers, both employed and unemployed, is the paramount task of the R.W.G., because only in this way can the C.P.I. become rooted in the factories, among the unemployed, and in the trade unions. In this lack of emphasis on the social reactionary programme of De Valera there is shown a certain tendency to follow in the wake of Fianna Fail.

* * *

The return of the De Valera government with such an increased vote will result in the sharpening of the Anglo-Irish conflict. The British press sees this and advises against doing anything that may sharpen the situation. The *Sunday Times* wrote: "During the election both press and politicians in this country honourably avoided any suggestion of interference, and at this critical moment that avoidance must scrupulously be maintained . . . In any other manner the flames of passion must be uselessly and dangerously fanned." This cautious note is sounded because the defeat of the British imperialist agents and the return of De Valera "on an extreme national policy" (*Daily Telegraph*) at a moment of sharpening relations with the United States makes it necessary. But the *Daily Telegraph* puts the issue plainly: ". . . if it is sought to change either the existing economic or political relationships Great Britain will demand to have her say, and she can say it with power."

British imperialism is not so much alarmed about the return of De Valera as it is about the anti-imperialist upsurge of the masses behind him. The London *Times* writes that "Mr. De Valera owes his position to a traditional hatred of England." The *Daily Telegraph* depicts the Irish masses as "Credulous and ignorant voters with nothing to lose and everything to gain." The *Sunday Times* says: "The methods are not those of communism, but the spirit is little different . . . the election has been a crude contest between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' and the poverty of the country is reflected by the result . . . All who have anything at stake regard the future with anxiety." A special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* gives his estimation as "roughly speaking, the poor and the thriftless expect profit from a De Valera régime . . . the forces of economic discontent and extreme nationalism which Mr. De Valera has summoned to his aid will not allow him to stand still or draw back."

The upsurge of the masses of workers and farmers who support De Valera because his demagogic phrases appear to give an answer to their national and social needs in the crux of the present situation. De Valera's national-reformist capitalist policy cannot help but disappoint and disillusion the masses. The only way to develop the advance of the masses is by supplying a revolutionary alternative to Fianna Fail, and that alternative is the Communist Party of Ireland. Fianna Fail can be exposed by the development of the struggle of the masses around the slogans of complete independence and unity of the country from British imperialism, and defence of the workers' standard of living against the capitalist offensive, social insurance for the unemployed workers and agricultural labourers; wage increases and lower hours, better housing and social insurance for the agricultural labourers; abolition of debt payments and land distribution to the small and landless farmers; for a Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

Along with the sharpening conflict with British imperialism there goes on a sharpening of the internal class relations. The employed and unemployed workers are showing greater resistance to the capitalist offensive and militant struggles of the workers are growing. The strike of the Belfast railwaymen against wage reductions, supported by the dockers and busmen, the stubborn fight of the Kilkenny miners against the reactionary capitalist, church and trade union bureaucrat combination, the growing struggles of the unemployed following the splendid example of the Belfast street battles last October, are all evidence of the rising tide of proletarian militancy. The Irish Communists have the task of welding these militant struggles together. The formation of the Communist Party of Ireland will be the first great step forward to the solution of these tasks by organising together the revolutionary elements of the workers and small farmers. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Irish working class must take over leadership of the rising anti-imperialist mass struggle, unite the forces of the workers and small farmers in a revolutionary struggle for the unity and independence of the country, for the interests of the workers and farmers, for a Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

THE CONSTITUENT CONGRESS OF THE IRISH COMMUNIST PARTY

By SEUMAS MacKEE

THE decision of the Irish Communists, organised in the Revolutionary Workers' Groups, to hold a congress on May 27th for the establishment of the Communist Party of Ireland is of great importance. The Communist Party of Ireland continues the revolutionary traditions of the Irish proletariat as represented by Jim Connolly and the heroic Irish Citizens' Army, but, benefiting from the teachings of Lenin, on the seventeenth anniversary of the Easter uprising, the Irish proletariat organises its own independent Party for the struggle for the overthrow of the Irish bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and leading the working farmers shall construct a socialist society, which will lead to freedom from all exploitation by capitalism and English imperialism.

The bloody suppression of the Easter uprising of 1916 by British imperialism deprived the Irish proletariat of its revolutionary leadership, and paved the way for the dominance in the leadership of the workers' movement of the most shameless opportunists and imperialist agents. After the defeat of the uprising these opportunist bureaucrats of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress, showed their real anti-working-class policy by more openly sabotaging the workers' struggles against the imperialist war, and during the national revolutionary war against British imperialism betrayed the dockers and railwaymen who refused to transport British troops and munitions. Shameless betrayal of the economic struggles of the workers was accompanied by treachery to the national struggle for independence by supporting the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921 which established the Irish Free State. They were rewarded by senatorial appointments for their support of the savage executions and terror against the revolutionary Irish Republican Army in the civil war against the Free State. These "Socialist" leaders during the past ten years have shown themselves to be the most reliable agents of the capitalists in their attack of the working-class, and the cringing flunkeys of British imperialism in the Free State.

The Irish Communist Party which was represented at the Second World Congress of the Comintern, succumbed to the welter of confusion into which the masses were thrown, following the establishment of the Free State and the suppression of the civil war against it. The struggle against the opportunist trade union bureaucrats led by Jim Larkin, senior, on his return to Ireland in 1923, led to a split in the trade unions and the isolation of the revolutionary workers. The Irish Workers' League which he formed, had all the appearance of developing into a Communist Party, but because the leadership was unable to pursue a consistent proletarian revolutionary policy, it fell into the wake of national-reformism and lost its following among the revolutionary workers.

The Irish Republican Army cannot mobilise the workers and poor farmers for the struggle for social and national emancipation because its aim is the establishment of a bourgeois republic. The growing radicalisation of the masses keeps the petty-bourgeois I.R.A. leadership continuously wavering between reformist demands on behalf of the toiling population and support of the national reformist Fianna Fail Party of De Valera. Such a position is typical of petty-bourgeois revolutionary republicanism, but it is incapable either of mobilising the masses for their defence against the capitalist offensive and the struggle against capitalism, or waging a consistent struggle for national independence. Such a struggle can only be waged by a Party absolutely independent of the bourgeoisie, basing itself on the revolutionary proletariat as the leader in the struggle of the masses against capitalist exploitation and national oppression. Among the proletarian and poor farmer elements of the I.R.A. this is more and more being recognised, and there is a growing tendency to seek a united front with the R.W.G., and many of them are joining the R.W.G. and taking a definite stand for the organisation of the Irish Communist Party.

The consistent struggle for the formation of the Irish Communist Party has been carried on by the Revolutionary Workers' Groups, and its weekly paper, "The Workers' Voice" (which, unfortunately, is still weak), since 1930. During this time there has been a growth of membership and influence of the R.W.G. in the struggle against the social-reformism of the Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy, on the one hand, and against national reformism on the other. "The Communist menace" in Ireland has been attacked by all the forces of the bourgeoisie. Both the Catholic and Protestant churches "excommunicated" Communism, and the Catholic Church in the Free State organised pogroms against the Communists, and against the Kilkenny miners a counter-revolutionary united front of the clergy and the trade union bureaucrats has been formed to wreck the militant miners' union which secured better conditions for the miners by struggle under Communist leadership. In October, 1931, the R.W.G., the "Workers' Voice" and the F.S.U., and I.L.D. were outlawed by the Cosgrave Governmen

nder its Coercion Act. De Valera especially ttacked Communism in the recent election campaign nd put forward his party as a substitute for a Communist Party under the slogan of "Against pagan capitalism for a new Christian social system." The campaign to choke "The Workers' Voice" is so widespread that the latter continues only because of he determined support of the revolutionary workers. This support on the part of the R.W.G. is evidence of the growing influence of the movement among the workers and small farmers for the formation of the I.C.P.

The attacks against the R.W.G. organised by the Irish bourgeoisie in order to prevent the mobilisation of the revolutionary vanguard of the Irish proletariat for the formation of the I.C.P. did not prevent the R.W.G. from participation in the struggle of the workers against the capitalist offensive. The combination of the struggle for the formation of the I.C.P. with the everyday struggles of the workers against the capitalist attack on their wages, hours, conditions, etc., and against unemployment and for social insurance, in defence of the small farmers being evicted for non-payment of land annuities, mortgages, etc., was a living necessity in order to rally around the revolutionary vanguard, the R.W.G., and to show the masses in deeds that the Communists were devoted to the struggle for the defence of the interests of the workers and the working farmers.

The R.W.G. have participated, and in some cases take over the leadership, of the economic struggles of the workers and the unemployed. In the first place we must put the great struggle of the Belfast unemployed last October, where the struggle was carried on by street battles between the workers and the police, and witnessed the greatest solidarity of the hitherto divided Protestant and Catholic workers fighting side by side against their common enemy. Similarly in Dublin and elsewhere, the R.W.G. organised the unemployed and forced concessions from the Government. In the strikes of the building workers, textile workers, miners, railwaymen, the R.W.G. played a big rôle. The strike of the Kilkenny miners was only successful because of the long preparations of the R.W.G. and its correct leadership of the struggle and the formation of the Kilkenny Miners' Union.

The R.W.G. has popularised its programme for the small farmers, openly declaring that the fight of the farmers is bound up with the whole question of the struggle against capitalist exploitation and for national independence, and making demands which lead to the revolutionary solution of the abolition of land annuities squeezed from the farmers, the demand for no evictions, and the struggle for confiscation and distribution of the estates and large ranches to the small farmers and landless, abolition of debts of small farmers, state credits for small farmers, and moratorium for middle farmers facing bankruptcy owing to the capitalist crisis. The R.W.G. established contact in the country districts and has led farmers' struggles against evictions for non-payment of land annuities ordered by the Cosgrave Government, and for the defence of Jim Gralton who has been ordered to be deported by the De Valera Government.

But in spite of these successes which the R.W.G. have to their credit, such as the leadership of the workers' struggles against the capitalist offensive, and to some extent among the working farmers they have not been able to establish themselves organisationally among these workers and working farmers ; to win them for the I.C.P. Even in the great Belfast struggle, where the R.W.G. had thousands following its leadership and many became members, the R.W.G. has not achieved the organisational results it should have. This should alarm the whole R.W.G. to concentrate all energy on the task of founding the I.C.P. in the factory, there we can find the forces with which to conquer our exploiters, and only there can be found the basis for the building of the I.C.P. and to protect our Party. Only in the revolutionary forces of the proletariat, linked and organised through the Communist Party, can the proletariat lead the whole toiling mass (including the working farmers) in the struggle against capitalism which equally exploits the workers and farmers.

The organisation of the revolutionary vanguard of the Irish proletariat into the I.C.P. is the first essential step toward winning the proletariat for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The R.W.G. has put forward, as its main aim, the struggle for an Irish Workers' and Farmers' Republic, i.e., for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this respect the Irish Communists must remember the words of Lenin :

"The class which has seized political power has done so knowing that it has seized power *for itself alone*. This is implicit in the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. When we speak of the 'dictatorship' of a class, we do not mean anything at all unless we mean that this class consciously takes all political power into its own hands, and does not fool either itself or others by any verbiage about 'a national authority, elected by universal suffrage, and consecrated by the will of the whole people.' " (Work~, Vol. XVIII, Part 1, p. 175).*

In a country such as Ireland, where the proletariat itself has been imbued with nationalist ideas for so long, it is essential to emphasise this point, and keeping in mind the great mass of petty farmers in Ireland it is necessary to heed the statement of Comrade Stalin in his "Problems of Leninism" :

* Quoted by Stalin, "Problems of Leninism," p. 24.

"This must not be taken to mean that the power of this one class, the class of the proletarians, (who do not and cannot share this power with any other class), can get along without an alliance with the labouring and exploited masses of other classes. On the contrary, the proletarians need such an alliance for the realisation of their aims."

Further, in his pamphlet, "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists," Comrade Stalin writes :

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a class alliance of the proletariat with the labouring masses of the peasantry ; an alliance entered into for the overthrow of capitalism, for bringing about the final victory of Socialism ; an alliance formed upon the understanding that, within it, the leadership belongs to the proletariat."

Without firmly grasping these fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism it would be impossible for the constituent Congress of the I.C.P. to understand that revolutionary alliance of the Irish proletariat with the masses of petty producers, which alone shall make possible the freeing of Ireland from the grip of British imperialism and the establishment of the Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

Such a revolutionary aim requires the establishment of a Communist Party steeled in Bolshevik discipline which will enable the Party to win the confidence and support of the working-class which in turn shall lead the whole of the exploited. Regarding the establishment of such a Party, Lenin wrote :

"How is discipline maintained within the revolutionary Party of the proletariat ? What controls the discipline, and what strengthens it ? First of all, there is the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, its devotion to the revolution, its self-control, its self-sacrifice, its heroism. Secondly, there is the capacity of the proletarian vanguard for linking itself with, for keeping in close touch with, for to some extent amalgamating with, the broad masses of those who labour, primarily with the proletarian masses, but also with the non-proletarian masses of those who labour. Thirdly, we have the soundness of the vanguard's political leadership, the soundness of its political strategy and tactics—with the proviso, that the broad masses must become convinced *by their own experience* that the leadership, the strategy, and the tactics are sound."

The I.C.P., organising into its ranks the vanguard of the Irish proletariat, can only become "the guide, the leader, the teacher of the proletariat, on the above basis" (Stalin).

Having clearly stated the aim of the I.C.P. as the organisation of the proletarian struggle against capitalism for socialism, having clearly defined the task of the proletariat for the seizure of political power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat (the Workers' and Farmers' Republic), and the tasks of the I.C.P. for the winning of the majority of the Irish proletariat, the Irish Communists must clearly define their attitude to the toiling masses, and convince them not only in words, but in deeds, that their path to social and national freedom lies in revolutionary alliance in the struggle for socialism with the proletariat, against the Irish bourgeoisie and British imperialism for the Workers' and Farmers' Republic. Therefore, the Irish Communists must have a programme of the national and social demands of the toiling masses of the population which will convince them that only in alliance with the proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can they find a way out of their poverty and degradation, in a joint struggle against capitalism, and for socialism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist position on the question of the struggle for the national independence and unity of Ireland from British imperialism is of vital importance to the I.C.P. because, first, on this question the I.C.P. must win the Irish proletariat for the internationalist position of Marxism-Leninism, and break down the divisions erected by the bourgeoisie between the workers of Northern and Southern Ireland on this question, and really unite the Irish proletariat in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and British imperialism, and prevent them from falling into, on the one hand, the imperialist camp of a section of the Irish bourgeoisie, and, on the other hand, into the hands of the nationalist bourgeoisie led by De Valera. Secondly, to link up the Irish proletarian struggle with the international proletarian struggle against imperialism, and especially unite the Irish proletarian struggle with the struggle of the English workers against British imperialism ; thirdly, the whole question of the proletarian leadership of the exploited farmers in a joint struggle against the bourgeoisie, for the establishment of the Workers' and Farmers' Republic is bound up with the struggle of the poor farmers against capitalist exploitation, while this is mos intimately connected with the struggle for nation independence.

The I.C.P. can only be considered as a seriou Party, leading the proletariat in the struggle for th destruction of capitalism and the establishment socialism, when it recognises that the struggle f national independence from British imperialism is central question involving the unity of the proletari in the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisi educating the proletariat in internationalism, armi them against the imperialist and nationalist bou geoisie who seek to hold the proletariat in capitali slavery, and aiding the proletariat in taking over t leadership of the non-proletarian masses in t struggle for social and national emancipation, for t dictatorship of the proletariat.

(To be concluded.)

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